Daily Report

East Europe

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Honecker Addresses World Youth Meeting

AU2611150688 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 24 Nov 88 pp 3, 4

[Speech by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, at the opening of the third session of the International Preparatory Committee for the 13th Youth and Students World Festival, given in East Berlin on 23 November: "Peace, Friendship, Solidarity—the Principals of the Festival Movement Are Alive in Our Country"]

[Text] Dear friends from all over the world:

I welcome you most cordially here in Berlin on behalf of the SED Central Committee, the State Council, and the Council of Ministers. We are glad that you have accepted the invitation to come to the GDR and are convinced that Berlin's cosmopolitan attitudes and openmindedness provide a good atmosphere for the third session of the International Preparatory Committee for the 1989 13th World Festival of Youth and Students in Korea.

It is known that Berlin has twice hosted the World Festival of Youth and Students. Unforgettable experiences in the struggle for peace, friendship, and anti-imperialist solidarity are associated with the Third World Festival in 1951 as well as with the 10th Festival in 1973. When we were given the honor of organizing this worldwide youth forum for the first time by the World Federation of Democratic Youth [WFDY], great enthusiasm was aroused in our youth organization, the FDJ. We saw in it a further recognition of our efforts to instill the spirit of peace and friendship among peoples into the German youth, who had been forced into the fascist army of aggression a few years before.

The Session Is Being Held in a Country Where Socialism Has Gained a Foothold Forever

As FDJ chairman at that time, I was working directly on all questions of the Third World Festival. I still remember very well the discussion that we had on the train from Vienna, where the WDFY Executive Committee had suggested that the FDJ host the Third Festival. We had a lively discussion about how we wanted to organize the festival in Berlin. The city was still heavily marked by the wounds of World War II. Mountains of rubble and hundreds of thousands of cubic meters of debris had to be cleared away to create space for the meeting between the world youth. Theaters and halls for cultural events, which had been destroyed by war had to be repaired and renovated. In a city that was characterized by a scarcity of living space, 108,000 places in private homes were made available to accommodate the participants in the festival, and 696,000 places in mass accommodations were provided. But all the efforts were worthwhile. It became a festival of understanding among the peoples in which the delegates from all over the world parted with the vow to work harder than ever before for the forces of peace to achieve victory.

When the youth delegates from all continents came to our country in 1973, our worker-peasant state and its capital Berlin had changed fundamentally. The democratic world youth were in a country where socialism had gained a foothold forever and which occupied a respected position in the world arena. The world youth got to know Berlin as a place of meeting with the vital force of socialism and got to know its humanity and true freedom.

Achievements That Never Existed on German Soil Before

In the past 1 and ½ decades, the GDR has continued to develop in a stable and dynamic manner. Under socialism, our people have made achievements that are unprecedented on German soil. Here the fundamental human rights to work, education, recreation, and living space are realized. No one will encounter unemployment or homelessness here. The active participation by all citizens in the political, economic, intellectual, and cultural life is guaranteed by the Constitution. There exist equal opportunities for development for all. Every young person in our republic can be certain of receiving an apprenticeship, a study place, a job. All strata of the population live in social security. As a result of our housing program, which was started in 1971, the living conditions for far more than one-half of our citizens have improved. Recently we handed over to the citizens of the GDR the 3 millionth apartment built since 1971.

The GDR is a state in which every citizen, regardless of his philosophy or religious conviction, of his social position or the color of his skin, can unfold his capabilities to his own and society's benefit. The principles of the festival movement—peace friendship, and anti-imperialist solidarity—are deeply rooted in our country.

Dear friends, we are convinced that at your session the decisive preconditions will be created for the success of the 13th World Festival of Youth and Students to be held in the DPRK in July 1989. May your deliberations contribute to providing further vigorous impulses for the joint struggle of young people on all continents for peace and security, detente and disarmament, social progress, freedom, and democracy.

The Tested Principle Still Applies Today: Wherever We Live, Our Happiness Depends on Peace

Dear friends, since its beginning, the world festival movement has been an active part of the international peace movement. When the WFDY formed in London in 1945, the ruins of World War II were still smoking in Europe. The recollection of the immense suffering and

the horrors which Hitlerite fascism had inflicted upon the peoples were fresh. In this situation, young peace fighters discussed the young generation's contribution to a better future.

The WFDY had turned to the public with an appeal for unity in the struggle for peace. A few months later, the WFDY Executive Committee called on young people of all political convictions, races, skin colors, and of all nationalities to unite through the world festival of youth and students in the joint struggle for lasting and just peace. This was a historic initiative.

In the over 40 years which had passed since then, the festival movement has mobilized millions of young people and, through their strength, written lasting chapters in the history of the world peace movement. The principle that guided them at the time is still valid today: "Young people of all nations, we are linked by the same spirit, by the same courage! Wherever we live, our happiness depends on peace!"

The movement to prepare for the 13th World Festival feels particularly committed to the idea of peace at this time. If there is more than a little in the international situation which continues to provide cause for concern, there are nevertheless encouraging changes taking place toward its improvement, toward replacing confrontation with cooperation. For the first time in the history of mankind, disarmament is not only a distant goal but is beginning to become a reality. With the coming into force and the realization of the USSR-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, the vicious circle of arming and counterarming has been broken.

Experiencing Solidarity and Practicing Active Solidarity

This strengthens our confidence that political reason, realism, and responsibility will in the future prevail in shaping international relations. The GDR backs immediate further steps in the sphere of disarmament, security, and confidence. This is even more true because the problems that have to be resolved are by no means small, and the opponents of disarmament have by no means withdrawn from the field; as a matter of fact, they are even increasing their resistance.

As the representatives of the Warsaw Pact states stressed at their meeting this July, further measures aimed at radically reducing military potential while maintaining the principle of equality and equal security are urgently required. This applies to the 50-percent reduction of Soviet and U.S. strategic offensive weapons while strictly adhering to the ABM Treaty; to a reduction and final cessation of nuclear tests, to the complete banning and destruction of chemical weapons; and to the reduction in armed forces and conventional weapons from the Atlantic to the Urals. Tactical nuclear weapons must be included in the disarmament process. There is no doubt that this would have far-reaching significance for the preservation of peace in Europe and throughout the world.

With its policy of dialogue and cooperation, the GDR contributes to bringing about a change for the better in international relations. In this, our foremost matter of concern is that war shall never again start from German soil, but only peace. Situated at the heart of Europe, our republic is striving for this continent to become free of all means of mass destruction. The missiles that are to be destroyed must not be "compensated for" by modernizing other types of weapons. At the side of the Soviet Union and together with all other socialist countries, we are working toward the great aim that the world will enter the new millenium free of nuclear weapons.

The European continent continually draws special attention to itself whenever questions concerning security and disarmament are concerned. There are good reasons for this. Here the dividing line runs between NATO and the Warsaw Pact, the most powerful military coalitions of our time. Here troops and weapons are concentrated as on no other part of the earth. Here one of the most densely populated regions of the world has become a nuclear power keg.

Peace initiatives emanating from Europe could have global effects beyond the continent. Continental and regional solutions offer possibilities to prepare worldwide agreements step by step. The GDR also allows itself to be guided by this regarding the initiatives for a nuclear-free zone and for a zone of trust and security in central Europe.

The thought, widely discussed in the meantime, to build a common European home, can only flourish with the prerequisite that it be a house of peaceful cooperation and peaceful neighborliness. The Helsinki Final Act is a good basis for the house rules. We attach particular importance to the need for the young generations to grow up in the spirit of friendship among peoples on our continent and everywhere else in the world, so that they will actively support peace.

Dear friends, the active anti-imperialist solidarity with the peoples who are fighting for their national and social liberation, for independence and sovereignty has always been part of the best traditions and noble ideals of the festival movement. The strength inherent in solidarity has been experienced by the people and youth in the GDR at the most diverse times, and they themselves have always practiced active solidarity.

Let us convey fraternal greetings of solidarity to the people of Nicaragua and their heroic youth. Our full support goes to their struggle for the defense and strengthening of the achievements of the Sandinista people's revolution, against imperialist intervention and the policy of threat and aggression. The GDR backs the

implementation of the Guatemala Peace Plan for Central America. We will continue our aid to overcome the consequences of the catastrophic storm, which has so severely affected the Nicaraguan people.

Dictate of Reason: Peaceful Settlement of Disputes

We send our greetings to the people of El Salavador and their liberation movement. We congratulate the antifascists and democrats of Chile on their great success in the struggle against the Pinochet dictatorship. We wish them strength and unity on the path toward a democratic alternative in Chile.

We also feel ourselves most closely bound in solidarity to the peoples of southern Africa and their struggle against apartheid and racism. What is necessary are comprehensive and binding sanctions against the racist regime of South Africa. Apartheid cannot be reformed, apartheid must be eliminated. We demand freedom for all imprisoned patriots, freedom for Nelson Mandela.

The GDR has welcomed the decisions of the 19th Extraordinary Session of the Palestinian National Council and has recognized the proclaimed state of Palestine under international law. We consider an international peace conference under UN auspices with participation on the basis of equal rights of all immediately interested parties, including the PLO, the sole representative of the Palestinian people, to be a suitable way toward achieving a lasting and just settlement in the Middle East conflict.

The GDR regards the settlement of international disputes through negotiations as an obligation imposed by reason. It supports the activities set in motion in this spirit by the United Nations, by states and groups of states, by international organizations, and by political forces.

Dear friends, in our time security cannot be achieved against each other, but only through cooperation, and the solution of other global problems requires joint efforts by all states and peoples. It is understandable that these questions are moving the young generation today because their lives are most closely linked with the future of our planet.

The GDR supports all relevant steps toward securing ecological equilibrium, toward overcoming economic backwardness, and toward a just world economic order in the struggle against hunger, diseases and deficiency, and illiteracy. I would like to draw your attention to the document on the consequences of the arms race for the environment and other aspects of ecological security, which was adopted by the Warsaw Pact states in July this year. This was the first time that an alliance of states discussed these issues and submitted specific proposals for international negotiations and worldwide cooperation in this sphere.

DPRK Will Be a Good Host of the First Festival in Asia

Dear friends, dear young fellow fighters, in 1989 world youth will be meeting for the first time in an Asian country for the world festival. This is of great importance for the deepening of mutual understanding, for the strengthening of unity and concerted action on the part of the youth of all continents.

As we all know, Asia is not merely a continent with a millenia-old history, which has played a decisive part in shaping the development of mankind. Today the growing potential of those forces which work for social progress is becoming increasingly important, as are the economic upswing and the many and varied activities for peace, independence, and human dignity. Today processes are unfolding there which in many respects are important for the future of the whole world. At the same time, it cannot be ignored that in Asia as well, certain circles are still striving for arms buildup and confrontation.

Among the constructive initiatives for peace and disarmament is the DPRK's proposal for detente on the Korean peninsula, particularly for the creation of a nuclear-free zone. They are receiving great attention in the world, as well as our full support. The DPRK's efforts to reduce tensions in this region, for a dialogue with South Korea, for the reunification of Korea on a peaceful and democratic basis, testify to an approach which entails no disadvantage for anybody, but is rather to everyone's advantage.

The youth of the world have passed on the relay staff of the festival to the League of the Socialist Working Youth of Korea. Hosts of the 13th World Festival of Youth and Students are the youth of a fraternally allied people who, through their heroic achievements in the reconstruction of their homeland, have earned high worldwide recognition. Under the leadership of our friend and comrade Kim Il-song, the destruction caused by the imperialist war of aggression were overcome within a relatively short period, an efficient economy was established, and challenging tasks were tackled on the basis of a sociopolitical program.

It is common knowledge that the Korean people and their youth are making efforts to be a good host to the first world festival on the Asian continent. The conditions are being created for a broad and democratic discussion among participants in the festival. Those who, like me, have recently had the opportunity of visiting the DPRK receive a vivid impression of what the youth of the world will experience next year of the proverbial Korean hospitality.

The capital, Pyongyang, where, following the devastating air raids during the war, not one stone remained standing and where the wind blew the ashes through the deserted streets, has arisen more beautiful than ever

before. New buildings that were constructed for the festival decorate the beautiful face of the city. More impressively than ever before Pyongyang can be experienced as the metropolis of a flourishing socialist state.

We wish the Korean people and its youth much success in preparing and carrying out the 13th World Festival. The DPRK can always rely on the active solidarity of the GDR and particularly of its young people.

As in many countries, the convening of the 13th World Festival met with a broad response in the GDR. The National Preparatory Committee, which has been at work for over a year and at whose invitation the third meeting of the International Preparatory Committee is being held in the GDR, supports the manifold activities of the FDJ and pioneer groups; of young workers, cooperative peasants, engineers and scientists; of schoolchildren, apprentices, and students; of artists and athletes; of many citizens who feel closely linked with the festival movement and who are making a specific contribution to it. There are millions of GDR citizens taking part in the festival preparations.

World Festival—Unique Forum of Democratic Youth Movement

The preparations for the world festival are an integral part of the "FDJ Pledge GDR 40," the youth's comprehensive mass initiative on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR. The young generation in our country considers the further shaping of the developed socialist society the decisive task in order to contribute to safeguarding peace, and to practice active solidarity with the peoples who are struggling for freedom and self-determination.

Dear friends and comrades, challenging tasks have to be solved during the preparations for the third meeting of the 13th World Festival of Youth and Students. We sincerely hope that all these issues will be settled on the basis of the joint desire that the preparations for the next festival be carried out in the spirit of the best traditions of the festival movement. At the same time we welcome the intention to continue the debate about the perspectives of the festival movement in Berlin. In our view, as a unique forum of the democratic world youth movement, the World Festival of Youth and Students is making an irreplacable contribution to the dialogue on vital issues that concern everyone and to consolidating friendship and cooperation between young people.

Since 1973, the tendency of facing up to the challenges of our time in the struggle for peace and social progress amid an increasingly broad community of young people with different political views, ideological convictions, and religious beliefs has been increasing within the democratic work youth movement. We are convinced that more young people will join the festival movement, thus strengthening the joint struggle for humanist ideals.

Dear friends, I wish you constructive deliberations. You may rest assured that you will find committed and active fellow fighters in the implementation of the noble goals of the festival movement in our socialist German state, among our people and the young.

International Nuclear Physics Symposium Concludes
AU2911174288 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 28 Nov 88 p 2

[Text] Dresden (ND)—The latest results of experimental and theoretical research on nuclear fission were discussed at the 17th International Nuclear Physics Symposium of the Dresden Technical University, which was concluded during the weekend [26-27 November]. Scientists from 24 countries, such as the FRG, CSSR, France, Japan, the USSR, and the United States, participated in the 5-day deliberations.

In addition to research results which provide, above all, new findings about the physical composition of matter, experimental and theoretical works that contribute to a basically improved understanding of nuclear fission were discussed. They are required in order to perfect nuclear energy technology, for example, in increasing the safety of nuclear reactors, and in the development of future fusion reactors.

Olechowski Assesses Parliamentary Forum
AU0112141988 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28 Nov 88 p 7

[Leslaw Sajdak PAP report: "Minister Tadeusz Olechowski on the Warsaw Meeting"]

[Text] What effect on Polish foreign policy can the Warsaw conference of heads of parliament from Europe, the United States, and Canada have? A PAP reporter asked this question to Foreign Minister Tadeusz Olechowski, who was present at this conference.

[Olechowski] There is no doubt that the conference has a positive bearing on the affairs in which European states are involved, including Polish foreign policy. We are living in a time of momentous events; for example, an unprecedented number of meetings between East and West, and the final stage of the Vienna conference. At this very time, and on Poland's initiative, parliamentary representatives are meeting. The very fact that this meeting is taking place in our capital gives it a special political status. The Warsaw meeting is a continuation of the work of governments. The future of Europe and the world and the direction in which their fate will proceed is a topic that concerns every European government.

I would also like to point out a few practical features. For almost 2 days I have listened to speeches and met people. So have our Sejm deputies, who talked to their counterparts from other countries. I consider this a major advantage, for it constitutes a formal and informal

exchange of views. People get to know each other and acquire mutual trust as a result. And one should remember that if we really want to build a common European home today, mutual trust is the first condition for it. This home will not be a common one if the doors are shut.

Several speeches contained a certain feature, perhaps a romantic one, which I found very pleasing. The speakers involved said that perhaps this Warsaw meeting could lead to something new in the future, an all-European parliament. This is certainly a beautiful idea, and it is very likely that today, we in Warsaw are seeing the birth of such a parliament before our very eyes.

Mideast Conference Convenes in Prague

LD0612133688 Prague CTK in English
1325 GMT 6 Dec 88

[Text] Prague Dec 6 (CTK)—An international model conference on Middle East peace opened here today.

It is the first action of its kind held in a socialist country. Its purpose is to help promote international effort aimed at a just settlement of the Middle East conflict.

It is attended by representatives of the Palestinian people, non-governmental public figures from Israel, from countries which are permanent members of the U.N. Security Council, personalities from Arab states and representatives of international organizations.

The conference, which will last three days, is organized by a special preparatory committee presided by Bohuslav Kucera, chairman of the Czechoslovak Society for International Relations and deputy chairman of the Federal Assembly. Another organizer is the Institute of International Relations in Prague.

Czechoslovakia President Gustav Husak and U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar have sent messages to the participants in the conference.

The conference was opened by Bohuslav Kucera and an address has been delivered by Czechoslovak Deputy Premier Matej Lucan. Some fifty participants have come to Prague for the three-day conference.

They include for instance Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Palestine National Council Khalid al-Hasan, Professor Sari Nusaybah of Bir Zayt University in the West Bank, members of the Israeli Communist Party Politburo Tawfiq Tubbi and Tamara Gozansky, Israeli deputy Bar-on Mordekhey and former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark.

The Soviet delegation is led by Vladimir Vinogradov and includes Director of the Academy of Sciences Institute for the Far East Mikhail Kapitsa and other figures. Former foreign minister Michel Jobert has come from France and members of Parliament attend from Britain. Delegations have been sent by the Egyptian and Jordanian public, represented are the United Nations, the Non-Aligned Movement and other international organizations and groups.

Bohuslav Kocera in his opening address said that the Czechoslovak side proposed the international model conference with regard to its long-lasting friendly relations with the peoples of the Middle East and to close links between developments in this part of the world and in Europe as well as with regard to the indivisibility of peace and security in the world. Czechoslovakia has always supported a just settlement in the Middle East. According to Bohuslav Kucera, it is characteristic of the Prague conference that the composition of its participants imitates an international peace conference whose convocation is demanded by numerous U.N. resolutions and by the majority of states and which is generally considered the best mechanism for a peaceful settlement of the Middle-East crisis. The participants in the Prague meeting have an opportunity of an open dialogue to exchange views on basic problems concerning peace in the Middle East and to seek the possibilities for their fraternal solutions by a constructive and realistic way.

U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar in his message sent to the Prague conference expressed hopes "that this model international peace conference will help to promote the spirit of dialogue and understanding".

"The gathering here in Prague of so many distinguished participants is evidence of the increasingly wide support, both within the international community and among the concerned parties, for the convening of an international peace conference on the Middle East," the U.N. secretary-general said in his message. "The 'Intifadah', which has been under way in the occupied territories for nearly a year now, continues to be a dominating factor on the Middle East political agenda," he stressed.

Second Balkan Ecology Meeting Held in Sofia

Atanasov Gives Greeting

AU0612143088 Sofia BTA in English
1346 GMT 6 Dec 88

[Text] Pravets, December 6 (BTA)—Government experts of the six Balkan countries: Bulgaria, Albania, Greece, Romania, Turkey and Yugoslavia, participated in the second Balkan meeting on the issues of ecology, which started today in the town of Pravets (60 km from Sofia). The agenda includes exchange of information on the development of the ecological situation in the Balkan countries and for their cooperation on preservation of the environment and discussion of a draft agreement on the ecological protection of the Balkan peninsula.

A greeting on behalf of Mr Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, was read to the participants in the meeting, in which the great significance was raised of

the idea of signing of an agreement on the ecological protection of the Balkan peninsula, raised more than 2 years ago by Mr Todor Zhivkov, president of the State Council.

Noting the exacerbation of the ecological situation in the world over the last years, the Balkans included, Mr Georgi Atanasov pointed out the need of uniting the efforts of the national and international organizations and institutes for the adoption of joint initiatives for the settlement of problems in this region.

The establishment of a system for ecological security in the Balkans is not an easy task. There must be thorough and systematic work. There must be significant efforts as the things are related to the agreement of steps of sovereign countries with different priority tasks related to the preservation of the environment, it is said in the greeting, and a conviction is expressed that under the conditions of the new political thinking and on the basis of the results achieved from the first Balkan ecological meeting it is possible to find the best way of cooperation of the Balkan countries.

The greeting stresses that Bulgaria renders great significance to the document "The Consequences in the Armaments Race on the Environment and Other Aspects of Ecological Security", by which the Warsaw Treaty countries addressed in July this year the governments and the peoples. A strong impetus in this respect was also given by the foreign affair ministers of the Balkan countries in Belgrade this year, the greeting says.

Discussions Take Place

AU0612191488 Sofia BTA in English
1836 GMT 6 Dec 88

[Text] Pravets, December 6 (BTA)—As Mr Nikolay Dyulgerov, chairman of the Environmental Protection Committee with the Council of Ministers of Bulgaria, pointed out, the second meeting on ecology is an extension of the dialogue on one of the most important problems of the cooperation in the Balkans aimed at the conservation of nature, the beginning of which was laid by the first meeting held in Sofia at the end of 1987.

The leader of the delegation of Turkey, which did not take part in the previous meeting, assessed the present meeting as a very important step towards the achievement of this end.

The participants started their proceedings by exchanging information on the ecological situation, the strategy and the policy of their countries with regard to conservation of nature.

Constructively and fully aware of their responsibility before the succeeding generations, the representatives of all countries expressed the understanding of their governments and their willingness to carry on effective and durable bilateral and multilateral cooperation for conservation and regeneration of environment.

Discussing the forms, methods and ways for encouraging cooperation, they agreed that a document was needed to form the groundwork of this cooperation.

The working out of such document is being discussed on the basis of the Bulgarian draft agreement on ecological protection of the Balkans. It was submitted to the delegations at the previous meeting. The participants in the debates, which will be resumed tomorrow, are discussing proposals and amendments to the draft agreement suggested by the different countries after having studied it.

Meeting Ends 7 Dec

AU0712203788 Sofia BTA in English
1944 GMT 7 Dec 88

["The Second Balkan Meeting on Preservation of the Environment Finished"—BTA headline]

[Text] Pravets, December 7 (BTA)—The environment in the Balkans and the possibilities to expand cooperation related to its preservation between the countries in the region were subjects of the 2-day long discussions of the second Balkan meeting on preservation of the environment.

The governmental experts of Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, Turkey, and Yugoslavia voiced a common concern over the air, water and soil pollution and confirmed the willingness of their countries for a large-scale cooperation in the use of the achievements of techno-scientific progress for environment protection, for exchange of information, scientific initiatives and joint projects.

During the 2 days they focused their attention on the texts of a draft agreement on environment preservation in the Balkans, which is comprehensive as regards the environment elements, the forms and methods of cooperation.

The present discussion is the first consideration of the project, which is yet to be considered by an editorial staff.

The project plans that cooperation in this field would be carried with the complete observation of the UN statutes and in the spirit of the decisions of the Belgrade meeting of foreign affairs ministers.

Businesslike, constructive and well-meaning, those were the assessments given for the discussions by the participants. They were convinced that the achievement of the results are a significant contribution to strengthening of Balkan cooperation.

Soviet National Policy Criticized

AU3011165488 Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 21 Nov 88 p 4

[Bashkim Trenova article: "The Bitter Fruits of Gorbachev's National Policy"]

[Text] As has been reported, the Estonian Supreme Soviet and, immediately after it, that of Lithuania have recently rejected those draft amendments of the Soviet Constitution that restrict the sovereignty of the federated republics. The Estonians decided at the same time to use their right to veto the laws of the central state and approved a resolution about "the priority of Estonian laws on the territory of Estonia." For their part, the Lithuanians are considering a new draft constitution for their republic, which aims to give it autonomy from the central state in virtually all respects with the exception of defense and foreign policy. These developments, which also extend to Latvia, the third Baltic republic, have caused alarm in Moscow. High Kremlin officials now talk openly about "growing political tensions" and "alarming divisions." The Soviet paper SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, for its part, accuses the Baltic republics of "irresponsible and upsetting" attitudes.

The Great Russian unitarist forces are trying as never before to reinforce their hegemonistic positions at the expense of the non-Russian peoples and nationalities in order to succeed in what they call "imprinting common characteristics on the physiognomy of the nationalities and all the Soviet people;" in other words, further denying their rights as peoples and nations with their own characteristics, features, and dignity. This nationalist policy of national oppression and discrimination has increased the anger and resistance of the peoples of different republics, as in the specific case of the Baltic republics. Current events in these republics reflect this reality. They are an aspect of the general crisis that has the Soviet Union in its clutches, which includes all levels and forms of relations. It is a result of the new ruling revisionist bourgeoisie's denial of the principled Leninist policy on national relationships in the Soviet Union, of the activities of various centrifugal and centripetal forces and currents that are at work in the country, of the clash of the narrow, antagonistic interests of the different national bourgeoisies in the Soviet republics, and of the revival of nationalist forces which, under the conditions of "glasnost," have come out openly in favor of secession from the Soviet Union. They are also supported by foreign powers.

Recent developments in the Soviet Union's Baltic republics, in the wake of the Nagorno-Karabakh problem between Armenia and Azerbaijan, which is still continuing, are signs of further exacerbated national tensions in this country. The Great Russians, being unable because of their class position to find solutions to the chaos and stagnation into which they have led the country, now announce that the constitutional reforms to be approved by the Supreme Soviet at the end of this month are "merely the beginning" of what is called an "intensive" process toward the "internationalization" of the peoples of the Soviet Union, in other words, toward the further denial of everything the non-Russian nationalities hold dear, toward their total assimilation and the destruction of their national identity. Thus, the Kremlin has no intention of retreating, but aims to pursue this road further, along which even more sensational failures lie in wait.

The Gorbachevites make a lot of noise about their "perestroyka" and "glasnost," which are blazoned as the golden keys of salvation which will lead to the reconstruction of Soviet society and to broad democracy. In the national sphere, this reconstruction, as experience has shown, presupposes the review or further truncation of the national and constitutional rights of the non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union. This "democracy" in fact presupposes more restrictions on sovereign rights and on the very sovereignty of these peoples.

Such a policy is laden with many bitter, serious, and unexpected consequences for those who have devised it, and for the Soviet peoples as well.

FRG Government Economic Delegation Visits

Arrives in Tirana

AU0512204888 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 5 Dec 88

[Text] An FRG Government delegation headed by Dr Erich Redl, parliamentary state secretary of the Ministry of Food, Agriculture, and Forestry, which will take part in the proceedings of the first session of the Joint West German-Albanian Commission for Economic, Industrial, and Technical Cooperation, arrived in Tirana today.

The delegation was met at Rinas Airport by Farudin Hoxha, minister within the Council of Ministers; (Gudar Toto), directorate director at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs; and other comrades. Friedrich Kroneck, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the FRG to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, was also present.

Meets Malile, Others

AU0612202388 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 6 Dec 88

[Text] Today Reis Malile, minister of foreign affairs of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, received Dr Erich Redl, parliamentary state secretary at the FRG Ministry of the Economy. During the meeting opinions were exchanged on bilateral relations and on certain aspects of the international situation.

The parliamentary state secretary was also received by Niko Gjyzari, chairman of the State Planning Commission. A discussion took place on this occasion on the possibility of expanding economic cooperation between the two countries in various fields of mutual interest.

Dr Erich Redl was also received today by Luan Babameto, minister of communications. They discussed the development of cooperation in the field of transportation between the two countries.

These meetings, which took place in a friendly atmosphere, were also attended by Friedrich Kroneck, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the FRG in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

Commission Session Begins

AU0612202588 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 6 Dec 88

[Text] The first session of the Joint West German-Albanian Commission for Economic, Industrial, and Technical Cooperation was held today in Tirana. The Albanian side in the commission is led by Farudin Hoxha, minister attached to the Council of Ministers, and the West German side by Erich Redl, parliamentary state secretary of the Federal Ministry of the Economy.

During the proceedings of this session, talks were held on the further development of economic, industrial, and technical cooperation between the two countries in various fields of mutual interest, such as mining, metallurgy, the chemical industry, light industry, agriculture, and so forth.

The proceedings were also attended by Ambassador Friedrich Kroneck.

Attends Dinner

AU0712134888 Tirana ATA in English 0915 GMT 7 Dec 88

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] In honour of the parliamentary secretary of state at the Federal Ministry of Economy, Dr Erich Riedl, the minister under the Presidency of the Council of Ministers, Farudin Hoxha, gave a dinner, which passed in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

Attending were the chairman of the State Planning Commission, Niko Gjyzari; the minister of foreign trade, Shane Korbeci, etc. Present was also the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the FR of Germany to the PSR of Albania, Friedrich Kroneck.

Cooperation Protocol Signed

AU0712195388 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 7 Nov 88

[Text] A protocol was signed today in Tirana at the first session of the Joint Commission for Economic, Industrial, and Technical Cooperation between the governments of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the FRG. The protocol was signed on the Albanian side by Farudin Hoxha, minister attached to the Presidency of the Council of Ministers, and on the West German side by Dr Erich Riedl, parliamentary secretary of state at the Federal Ministry of Economy.

The signing ceremony was attended by Shane Korbeci, minister of foreign trade; Sokrat Plaka, deputy minister of foreign affairs; and members of the two delegations.

Alia Meets With Sarande Cadres

AU0112120188 Tirana ATA in English 0730 GMT 1 Dec 88

[Text] Tirana, December 1 (ATA)—On November 30 before noon, Comrade Ramiz Alia, first secretary of the party Central Committee and president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, who went to Sarande on occasion of November 28 and 29 festivities, had a meeting with cadres of the party, state power, economic organs, mass organizations and of the army of this district.

Those present joyfully welcomed Comrade Ramiz Alia in the hall.

Syrja Dosti, first secretary of the district party committee, briefed him on some main questions, the directions the work of the party organs and its levels is focused on in this district. After pointing to the sound moral-political situation, the optimism and determination of the working class and cooperativist peasantry with the communists in the van to march always forward, under Comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings, on the road the party headed by Comrade Ramiz Alia leads us to, he spoke on the results attained in all the walks of life and on the targets set for the future.

Amidst the applauses of those present, Comrade Ramiz Alia took the floor. He said among the other things:

We joyfully celebrated the great November festivities these days amongst the progressive and industrious people of the city and of the whole district of Sarande. The love for our party of labour and the joy for the socialist life is seen and felt everywhere, in every region, every step, every meeting, and talk.

The people's joys mount because the country develops, the economy advances and the well-being uplifts, the unity around the party is further steeled.

Your progress in economy, education, culture, the material and spiritual life of the people is obvious. All this zone is known throughout the country particularly as a coastal zone and for the development of arboriculture. The hand and the creative thinking of the people have enhanced the beauties of nature and land's fertility.

Our working people are devoted to the cause of socialism and determined for the defence of the homeland, are hardworkers and exhibit a sharp political sense. These high qualities must be tempered in the everyday work for the realisation and overfulfillment of the plans. The interests of the society and of the working people themselves demand that everywhere the economic achievements respond to their political and cultural level.

It is a special pleasure, Comrade Ramiz Alia stressed, to notice that the number of small cattle in Sarande has perceptibly increased and that you occupy a place of honour as compared with the other districts as for land's proportions with the cattle and milk productivity. The shepherds and specialists of agricultural cooperatives of Sarande are profound masters.

Sarande District occupies the first place on a republic scale as for fruit production per hectare and the second for the production per capita of population. But it occupies the first place as for the favorable weather and territorial conditions, particularly for citrus fruits and olive.

Sarande District has great perspectives for the development of agriculture and livestock, but it has industrial perspectives as well. During the 80s alone industrial production augmented about one third.

Perspectives are also opened to Sarande District for the development of extracting and processing industry. The rock salt mine is expanding. Investments are also made in your district with regard to oil and gas. The marble reserves discovered here near Sarande are of interest.

Vast perspectives are opened to the youth in our country, Comrade Ramiz Alia stressed. Production is ensured by working, it uplifts the well-being and at the same time serves as a school. The worker who acquires qualification and has his competent say in production, the educated worker and master, is always a respected man, skillful for the society and himself, innovator and social actvist. Physical and mental labour in our social order are realized in full harmony with one another.

In conclusion, Comrade Ramiz Alia expressed his conviction that the party organization and people of Sarande will always come off with flying colours in performing the tasks.

Those present attentively listened to Comrade Ramiz Alia's speech.

Syrja Dosti, first secretary of the district party committee, thanked Comrade Ramiz Alia for his visit to Sarande, his valuable instructions and advices given at the rallies, meetings and talks with the people these days and promised that the working people of Sarande District will score still greater achievements in the context of implementing the tasks set by the party.

While coming out from the hall, Comrade Ramiz Alia met with the participants at the meeting, whereas thousands of inhabitants lined up in the main street of the city applauded and cheered for the party. Comrade Ramiz Alia cordially saluted them and left, seen off with affection by the people of Sarande for whom November 28-29 festivites of this year will remain unforgettable.

Comrade Ramiz Alia returned in Tirana on November 30.

Carcani Speaks at Cooperatives Dinner

AU2911141588 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 24 Nov 88 pp 1-2

[Speech delivered by Adil Carcani, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, at a 23 November dinner in Tirana to mark the conclusion of the Sixth Congress of Agricultural Cooperatives]

[Text] Dear comrades and friends,

The Sixth Congress of Agricultural Cooperatives, which has just successfully concluded its proceedings, was a significant event not only for the cooperativist peasantry, but also for all the working people of our country. It was a magnificent congress, where the affection of our peasantry for the party and its steel-like unity around the party, the vitality of the cooperativist order, and the determination to march unswervingly on the socialist road of development, traced and guided by the party and the glorious and unforgettable leader of our party and people, Comrade Enver Hoxha, were manifested once again with particular force.

Great problems were discussed and valuable suggestions made at this congress, particularly addressed to the central state and economic organs, and solutions must be found to these problems; important documents were approved concerning the implementation of the tasks set by the Ninth AWP Congress pertaining to the current and future development of our agriculture and the further consolidation of the cooperative system. The tasks stipulated by the congress, particularly Comrade Ramiz Alia's very important speech, constitute a broad program for the current and future development and progress of agriculture in our socialist countryside, as well as of the country's economy as a whole.

On this occasion, greeting you in the name of the AWP Central Committee and the Council of Ministers, I wish you success in the fulfillment of the tasks that you have set for yourselves in implementing the party's great program for the development of agriculture on the socialist road, the prosperity of the countryside, and the constant economic and social strengthening of the country. The party is fully convinced that our industrious and patriotic cooperativist peasantry, our agricultural cadres and specialists, all the working people throughout the country, all of us, together, further raising the spirit of mobilization, creative and innovative thinking, the level of organization and management, and better uncovering and utilizing the considerable reserves that our economy possesses and constantly creates, will redouble our energies to fulfill the great and important tasks set by the Sixth Congress of Agricultural Cooperatives.

May the enthusiasm and optimism that characterized the proceedings of your congress serve to further raise mobilization at work, not only to complete the remaining tasks of the current year, but also to prepare ourselves even better for the fulfillment of the 1989 plan, to achieve the broad turning point for agricultural and livestock production.

Wishing you all the best on the occasion of the great November festivities as well, I invite you to raise a toast:

To our glorious AWP and its Central Committee led by Comrade Ramiz Alia!
To the patriotic and industrious cooperativist peasantry and all the agricultural workers!
To our valiant and industrious people!
To the glorious and immortal deeds of Comrade Enver Hoxha, the architect of Socialist Albania and of the cooperativist order!
To the guests that have honored us by participating in this congress!
To you, comrade delegates, and to all those present at this joyful evening!

Cooperatives Congress Visitors Depart

AU2711140888 Tirana ATA in English 0745 GMT 27 Nov 88

[Text] Tirana, November 27 (ATA)—The delegation of the Peasants's League of Vietnam, headed by Cam Ngoan, deputy chairman of this league; the delegation of the Agriculture Committee of Korea, headed by deputy chairman of this committee, Kim Yong-chon; the delegation of National Small Farmers Leadership of Cuba, headed by the president of this leadership for the region of Holguin, Benjamin Reyes; and the delegation of the Cooperatives' Union of Tanzania, headed by the general deputy secretary of this union, Shehe Hamad Khamis, that at the invitation of the Ministry of Agriculture attended the 6th Congress of Agricultural Cooperatives, left our country.

Likewise, the Italian scholar Nicola Lombardi, director of the Olive Institute of Cosenza left our country.

The delegations were seen of by the vice minister of agriculture, Stefan Qirjako, and other comrades.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 19-25 Nov

AU2511165388 [Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian in its broadcasts between 19-25 November reports the following public appearances of Albanian leaders (sourceline of each report given in parentheses):

Hajredin Celiku and Besnik Bekteshi, AWP Central Committee Politburo members; and Vangjel Cerrava and Pirro Kondi, AWP Central Committee Politburo candidate members, welcomed on 20 November delegates to the Sixth Congress of Agricultural Cooperatives. (Tirana Domestic Albanian 1900 GMT 20 November)

Ramiz Alia, AWP Central Committee first secretary and chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, "and other party and state leaders" on 21 November attended the opening session of the Sixth Congress of Agricultural Cooperatives. (Tirana Domestic Albanian 1900 GMT 21 November)

Lenka Cuko, Muho Asllani, Foto Cami, Pali Miska, Hajredin Celiku, and Manush Myftiu, AWP Central Committee Politburo members; and Vangjel Cerrava and Qirjako Mihali, AWP Central Committee Politburo candidate members, attended the proceedings of the Sixth Congress of Agricultural Cooperatives on 22 November, which were held in three separate specialist sections. (Tirana Domestic Albanian 1900 GMT 22 November)

Foto Cami, Lenka Cuko, Hajredin Celiku, Hekuran Isai, Manush Myftiu, Muho Asllani, Pali Miska, Prokop Murra, and Rita Marko, AWP Central Committee Politburo members; Kico Mustaqi, Llambi Gegprifti, Pirro Kondi, Qirjako Mihali, and Vangjel Cerrava, AWP Central Committee Politburo candidate members, on 22 November attended a concert given in honor of the Sixth Congress of Agricultural Cooperatives. (Tirana Domestic Albanian 1900 GMT 22 November)

Ramiz Alia and "the Politburo" on 23 November attended the closing session of the Sixth Congress of Agricultural Cooperatives as well as a dinner on the same day. (Tirana Domestic Albanian 1900 GMT 23 November)

Reis Malile, minister of foreign affairs, on 24 November received a delegation of the DPRK Foreign Ministry. (Tirana Domestic Albanian 1900 GMT 24 November)

Foto Cami, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and secretary, on 24 November received a visiting delegation of the Colombian Communist Party (M-L). (Tirana Domestic Albanian 2100 GMT 24 November)

Mladenov Meets Italian President, Departs

AU0612183588 Sofia BTA in English
1737 GMT 6 Dec 88

[Text] Rome, December 6 (BTA correspondent)—Mr Francesco Cossiga, president of Italy, today received Mr Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs of Bulgaria, who paid here an official visit.

The chief Bulgarian diplomat delivered a written message from Mr Todor Zhivkov, president of the State Council of Bulgaria, to the Italian head of state, which contains an assessment of the development of bilateral relations over the last few years and an invitation to a visit to Bulgaria. Mr Francesco Cossiga accepted the invitation with gratitude and satisfaction. The official visit is scheduled to take place in 1990.

Mr Francesco Cossiga conveyed cordial greetings and best wishes for good health and every success to State Council President Todor Zhivkov and for prosperity to the Bulgarian people.

The sides agreed that the relations between Bulgaria and Italy have been undergoing an upgrade development over the last few years. At the same time, they found that following certain difficulties and a stagnation due to well-known reasons, the normalization of bilateral ties had required considerable efforts on both sides and that these efforts had been successfully made by them. There is every reason to believe that the difficult period is already a thing of the past.

Mr Mladenov and Mr Cossiga also considered some key international issues. They commended highly the dialogue between the Soviet Union and the United States, the prospects for wider East-West cooperation and for making irreversible the peace process on the planet. It was emphasized that, irrespective of the membership of Bulgaria and Italy in different politico-military alliances, the two countries can contribute substantially to the implementation of the initiatives in the best interests of all mankind, especially in the areas of arms reduction, the peaceful settlement of regional conflicts, etc.

Mr Giulio Andreotti, minister of foreign affairs of Italy, attended the meeting, which was held in a friendly atmosphere.

Later in the day, Mr Petur Mladenov left Italy for Bulgaria.

Relations With Italy Positively Assessed

AU0712191588 Sofia BTA in English
1151 GMT 7 Dec 88

["Bulgaria-Italy: Successful and Promising Dialogue"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December (BTA commentator Khristo Petrov)—Bulgaria and Italy demonstrated how two countries, strategically located in the Balkans and in the Mediterranean and members of confronting politico-military alliances, can contribute to the promotion of the C.S.C.E. process. This is one way of putting in a nutshell the results of the official visit which Bulgaria's minister of foreign affairs, Mr Petur Mladenov, made to Italy this week.

The first order of business was to restore and consolidate Bulgaro-Italian relations whose long-standing traditions go deep into history. In less than two years, the chief Bulgarian and Italian diplomats had three official meetings. In February 1987 and in September 1988 Mr Todor Zhivkov, president of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, received the visiting minister of foreign affairs of Italy, Mr Giulio Andreotti. In turn, Mr Petur Mladenov was now received at the Quirinale Palace by Mr Francesco Cossiga, president of the Italian Republic.

All this placed the Bulgaro-Italian political dialogue on sound foundations. One utmostly unrepresentative period of stagnation in bilateral relations was brought to an end. A steadily warming political climate catalyzed the trade and economic exchanges between Bulgaria and Italy. The conclusion in Sofia last September of an agreement on the avoidance of double taxation was now followed by the signing in Rome by Mr Petur Mladenov and Mr Giulio Andreotti of an agreement on reciprocal investment guarantees. The documents provide a legal framework to speed up the mutually advantageous cooperation and give Italy, which in a not too distant past ranked as this country's second largest trading partner among the industrialized Western nations, a chance to regain her now largely lost positions.

Wider and more frequent political contacts, more active business relations and cultural exchanges strengthen and will be strengthening the role of Bulgaria and Italy in the processes of disarmament, of European detente, of general peace and security. It is in this spirit and in these hopes that we will be looking forward to the official visit which Mr Francesco Cossiga, president of the Italian Republic, will pay here at the invitation of Mr Todor Zhivkov, president of the State Council.

Filipov Praises Greek CP on Anniversary Speech

AU0612103388 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 5 Dec 88 p 6

[Speech by Grisha Filipov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, at festive rally held on 4 December in Salonika to mark the 70th anniversary of the Greek Communist Party]

[Text] Dear comrades, I have the pleasant task of conveying the fraternal greetings of the BCP Central Committee and of all Bulgarian Communists on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the KKE [Greek Communist

Party]. Comrade Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee, sends to you his friendly greetings and most sincere wishes on this occasion.

Having developed as an experienced vanguard of the workers class and of all working people in the long struggles against reaction and fascism, in defending this country's national independence and progressive development, the KKE celebrates its anniversary as a real political force without which we could not imagine the present and future of Greece.

The KKE is a worthy successor of the freedom-loving Greek people's revolutionary traditions. Throughout its history this party has demonstrated indomitable patriotism and manly courage. At the price of thousands of victims who sacrificed their lives in the unequal struggle in the years of the heroic national, antifascist resistance, the KKE ultimately merged its own destinies with the people's fate and inspired them with the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, which became the people's credo and the source of their aspiration for a more just world and a better future.

In the difficult conditions of illegal struggle your party resolutely opposed military dictatorship, and together with the other progressive forces, contributed to the normalization of the situation in the country and to the restoration of the parliamentary system.

For many years the KKE headed the struggles waged by the working people of Greece in defending their basic rights and interests, in their united efforts aimed at democracy and social progress, in their efforts to build a new society, free of exploitation and unemployment, in defending the country's national sovereignty and independence.

The realities of the nuclear century and of the scientific-technical revolution are confronting not only all political and social forces, but also all mankind with unprecedented problems of life and death whose solution requires new methods of approach. We highly appreciate the active and consistent efforts of the KKE in responding to the requirements of our era, in creatively developing and applying the principles of scientific socialism in accordance with the present-day situation in your country.

Loyal to the ideas of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, practicing consistent international solidarity with the struggles of other countries and peoples, the KKE actively participates in all initiatives aimed at the consolidation of the international communist and workers' movement.

I would like to assure you that the Bulgarian Communists are also working with serious and inspired efforts for the renewal of the communist theory and practice. We are now implementing the concept adopted in July 1987 for the further construction of socialism in Bulgaria—our renewed, long-term strategy for the construction of an even more vital and more attractive socialist society.

It is our goal, on the basis of the achievements of scientific-technical progress and comprehensive development of socialist democracy, to transform Bulgaria into a highly developed, civilized state, which will be well-qualified to meet the challenge of the 21st century.

The current processes of renewal which are taking place in the USSR, in the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and in the other socialist countries are proceeding in accordance with the national peculiarities and traditions of the individual countries and play a very important role, not only for our countries and peoples, but for all mankind, because they assert the positive changes which have occurred in international relations on the basis of the new political thinking.

It is with great satisfaction that we point out the ascending development of relations based on friendly cooperation, mutual confidence, and good neighborhood between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Republic of Greece, between the Bulgarian and Greek peoples. The fraternal relations existing between the BCP and KKE play an important role in this historical process. We are happy that our two parties wholeheartedly support all efforts and constructive initiatives, both on a bilateral and a multilateral basis, efforts aimed at consolidating peace and cooperation in the Balkans, at the transformation of the Balkan peninsula into a zone free of nuclear and chemical weapons.

Our two parties and peoples are profoundly convinced that the elimination of mass destruction weapons and of the foreign military bases, which are situated in our area and are connected with these weapons, would be a solid guarantee for lasting, mutual confidence and for optimal opportunities of bilateral and multilateral cooperation in the Balkans.

We note with satisfaction that the prestige of the KKE is constantly increasing. The KKE is justifiably proud of the Communist Youth of Greece and of the confidence and support accorded to it by the women's and trade union movements, as well as by all progressive forces in the country. The decisions of your 12th KKE Congress are being successfully implemented in practical life.

In confirming our everlasting comradely solidarity, we sincerely wish you, dear comrades, even greater successes in your efforts to consolidate the party's influence and in rallying all progressive and democratic forces within your country for selfless work devoted to the Greek people's well-being, for the prosperity of our friendly neighbor—the Republic of Greece.

Long live the 70th KKE anniversary!
May the cause of peace, democracy, and social progress strengthen all over the world!

Filipov Returns From Athens

AU0712122688 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 6 Dec 88 p 2

[Text] The BCP delegation led by Grisha Filipov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and Central Committee secretary, returned on 5 December from Athens. At the invitation of the Greek Communist Party the delegation had taken part in the events marking the party's 70th anniversary.

Balev Receives Chinese Delegation

AU0212205688 Sofia BTA in English 1945 GMT 2 Dec 88

[Text] Sofia, December 2, 1988 (BTA)—Mr Milko Balev, Politburo member and secretary of the CC of the BCP, received the visiting delegation of the Chinese Communist Party, led by Mr Quan Shuren, member of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and secretary of the party's Liaoning Province Committee.

The guests were familiarized with the work of the BCP and of the Bulgarian people to implement the July Concept on the further construction of socialism in this country and with the peace-loving foreign policy of the BCP and of Bulgaria.

The sides exchanged views on the promotion and strengthening of cooperation between the two communist parties and the two countries to the benefit of the construction of socialism and the maintenance of peace.

Zhivkov Congratulates SFRY on Holiday

AU3011115088 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 29 Nov 88 p 1

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council, sent the following telegram to Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency:

Esteemed Comrade Dizdarevic, on the occasion of the SFRY national day, I would like to convey my most sincere congratulations and best wishes for the overall progress and prosperity of the peoples of our neighbor country, Yugoslavia, on behalf of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and on my own behalf.

I take advantage of this opportunity to express my confidence that the further active development and expansion of relations between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the SFRY is in the interest of the peoples in our two socialist countries and represents our joint contribution to the consolidation of peace and security in the Balkans and throughout the world.

Zhivkov Greets Alia on Albanian National Day

AU3011114988 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 30 Nov 88 p 1

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council, sent the following telegram to Ramiz Alia, chairman of the People's Assembly Presidium of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania:

Esteemed Comrade Alia, on the occasion of the 76th anniversary of Albania's declaration of independence and on the occasion of the 44th anniversary of the country's liberation from fascism and capitalism and of the people's revolution victory, I convey my most sincere congratulations and cordial wishes to the fraternal Albanian people for new achievements along the path of their successful development and for the prosperity of Socialist Albania.

I am convinced that the Bulgarian-Albanian relations will continue to develop along ascending lines in the traditional spirit of friendship and mutual confidence, to the benefit of our two peoples, and in the interest of peace and socialism.

Zhivkov, Politburo Meet With Students in Sofia

AU0712195388 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 7 Dec 88

[Text] This evening a traditional meeting took place in the People's Palace of Culture in Sofia between the BCP Central Committee Politburo and the Komsomol aktiv of the country's higher education establishments, to mark Bulgarian Students Day on 8 December.

Those present gave an exceptionally warm welcome to Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, and to members and candidate members of the Politburo and secretaries of the BCP Central Committee. The Bulgarian national anthem was played.

The meeting was opened and chaired by Andrey Bundzhulov, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Dimitrov Komsomol.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov made a speech. On behalf of the party and state leadership and in his own name, he most cordially congratulated the students and their lecturers on the holiday. Comrade Todor Zhivkov spoke in detail about the problems of the restructuring under way in Bulgaria. He devoted particular attention to the development of the economy and the production forces and stressed the need to build up a modern material-technical and production base.

After pointing out the great achievements of socialism in Bulgaria since the April Plenum [in 1956] and the high rates at which our country has developed during this period, the first party and state leader stressed that the

contemporary realities both at home and abroad demand revolutionary transformations. In this context he referred to the July Concept and its importance for the further construction of socialism in Bulgaria.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov pointed out the need for radical restructuring of the education system. In his speech he spoke on the development of the modern world and its new content. Contemporary realities, Comrade Todor Zhivkov stressed, also call for a new political thinking in resolving world problems and strengthening peace and security.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov's speech was heard with great attention and greeted with prolonged applause.

Reception Given for Students

AU0712203588 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 7 Dec 88

[Text] In Sofia this evening Comrade Todor Zhivkov gave a reception in the Boyana Residence to mark Bulgarian Students Day, 8 December. The reception was attended by outstanding students and rectors of higher education establishments and took place in an exceptionally cordial atmosphere.

Problems in Animal Farming Described

AU0112142688 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 29 Nov 88 p 2

[Report by Dimitrana Aleksandrova: "What Is Lacking in Animal Farming?"]

[Text] Animal farming is facing serious problems, which have to be speedily solved in order to improve the state of this branch of agriculture and to meet the market's requirements until the year's end and in 1989; this was established from the inspection made by the State and People's Control Committee, the results of which were discussed at the committee's meeting held on 28 November.

The state orders relating to the numbers of animals in the public sector of agriculture, defined under Council of Ministers' Decree No 3 of 3 February 1988, are not being fulfilled. The numbers of cows and sheep will fall, but it is expected that the planned numbers of pigs and hens will be reached if the relevant trusts adopt immediate measures.

The schedule for meat purchases is being overfulfilled at present, but despite this, by the end of the year only poultry production will reach 100 percent of the plan, while a shortfall of about 4,000 tonnes of the other kinds of meat is expected.

Milk purchases are running at a level of 98.8 percent of the plan, and the shortfall will reach 40,000 tonnes by the end of the year.

Preparations for the winter period are not satisfactory; because of shortages of building materials, only 60 percent of the buildings for beef cattle farming and 50 percent of those for sheep farming have been repaired.

As a result of a number of objective and subjective reasons, difficulties will be encountered this winter with animal feeding. Even if we can justifiably attribute part of the lack of feed to the unfavorable weather conditions, how can we explain the hay and straw shortages? Such a profusion of grass was grown this year, yet in Burgas, Lovech, and Khaskovo Oblasts only 34-44 percent of the required amounts of hay have been provided.

Whatever analysis we may make of the reasons, it is clear that the leaders of this subbranch must be brought to account. The State and People's Control Committee have instructed the National Agro-Industrial Union Association to take immediate steps to eliminate the weaknesses that have been permitted, analyze the state of the cadres in animal farming, and speed up the introduction of the piecework system.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 22 Nov-2 Dec

AU0212155688 [Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian in its newcasts, the Sofia press, and Sofia BTA in English during the 25 November-2 December monitoring period report the following public appearances of Bulgarian leaders (sourceline of each report given in parentheses):

The following leaders attended a reception given by the SFRY ambassador in Sofia to mark Yugoslavia's national day: Milko Balev, Andrey Lukanov, Petur Dyulgerov, and Dimitur Stanishev on 28 November. (Sofia Domestic Bulgarian 1400 GMT 28 Nov 88)

The following leaders attended a national day reception given in Sofia by the SFRY ambassador on 29 November. (Sofia Domestic Bulgarian 2000 GMT 29 Nov 88)

In Sofia Georgi Atanasov, with Andrey Lukanov in attendance, received Nikolaos Akritidhis, minister of commerce of Greece on 25 November. (Sofia BTA English 1849 GMT 25 Nov 88) In Sofia Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, received Kim Pok-sin, candidate member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Workers Party of Korea and vice premier of the DPRK on 26 November. (Sofia Domestic Bulgarian 1830 GMT 26 Nov 88)

Georgi Atanasov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Council of Ministers, chaired a conference in Sofia on improving consumer goods supplies on 25 November. (Sofia Domestic Bulgarian 1830 GMT 25 Nov 88) In Sofia on the same day Atanasov received Ha Tong-yun, the departing DPRK

ambassador (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO Bulgarian 26 Nov 88 p 2) In Sofia Atanasov received Ricardo Cabrisas Ruiz, minister of foreign trade of Cuba on 28 November. (Sofia Domestic Bulgarian 1830 GMT 28 Nov 88)

In Sofia Milko Balev, Politburo member and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, chaired a session of the National Assembly's Foreign Policy Commission on 29 November. (Sofia BTA English 1842 GMT 29 Nov 88)

In Sofia Grisha Filipov, Politburo member and secretary of the BCP CC, chaired a session of the National Assembly's Socioeconomic Development Commission that discussed the 1989 draft state plan on 22 November. (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO Bulgarian 23 Nov 88 p 6) In Burgas he attended a meeting at the Burgas petrochemical combine to mark the combine's 25th anniversary on 23 November. (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO Bulgarian 24 Nov 88 p 2) In Varna Filipov met with the students of the Varna Economics Institute in connection with International Students Day on 30 November. (Sofia Domestic Bulgarian 1830 GMT 30 Nov 88) He left Sofia for Athens at the head of a BCP delegation to attend the 70th anniversary celebrations of the Communist Party of Greece on 2 December. (Sofia Domestic Bulgarian 0900 GMT 2 Dec 88)

Pencho Kubadinski, member of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the Fatherland Front National Council, departed from Sofia for Lisbon to attend the 12th Congress of the Portuguese Communist Party on 28 November. (Sofia Domestic Bulgarian 1600 GMT 28 Nov 88)

In Sofia Yordan Yotov, Politburo member and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, received a working group from the PZPR Central Committee led by Stanislaw Glen, deputy director of the PZPR Central Committee's Propaganda Department on 24 November. (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO Bulgarian 25 Nov 88 p 2) In Sofia Yotov received the participants in an international seminar of media representatives from the socialist countries on 30 November. (Sofia Domestic Bulgarian 1830 GMT 30 Nov 88)

Petur Dyulgerov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions, attended a meeting in Bansko on 25 November to mark the 70th anniversary of the formation of the local party organization (Sofia Domestic Bulgarian 1830 GMT 25 Nov 88)

On 25 November Andrey Lukanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of foreign economic relations, held talks in Sofia with Nikolaos Akritidhis, minister of commerce of Greece (Sofia BTA English 1729 GMT 25 Nov 88) In Sofia Lukanov signed a trade protocol with Ricardo Cabrisas Ruiz, minister of foreign trade of Cuba on 28 November. (Sofia Domestic Bulgarian 1830 GMT 28 Nov 88) In Svishtov he met with the students of the Institute of Finance and Economics to mark International Students Day on 30 November. (Sofia Domestic Bulgarian 1830 GMT 30 Nov 88)

On 25 November Dimitur Stoyanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of internal affairs, attended a festive meeting in Sofia to mark the anniversary of the execution of General Vladimir Zaimov as a Soviet spy by the former regime. (Sofia Domestic Bulgarian 1830 GMT 25 Nov 88) In Sofia he spoke at a meeting between the leadership of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and mass media representatives on 29 November. (Sofia Domestic Bulgarian 1830 GMT 29 Nov 88) In Veliko Turnovo Stoyanov met with university students to mark International Students Day on 30 November. (Sofia Domestic Bulgarian 1830 GMT 30 Nov 88)

In Sofia Georgi Yordanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of culture, science, and education, received Mohamed Mire Abdullahi, minister of culture and education of Somalia on 28 November. (Sofia Domestic Bulgarian 1830 GMT 28 Nov 88) In Sofia he received Klaus von Bismarck, president of the Goethe Institute in the FRG on 30 November. (Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA Bulgarian 29 Nov 88 p 3) In Pleven Yordanov met with students to mark International Students Day on 1 December. (Sofia Domestic Bulgarian 1400 GMT 1 Dec 88)

On 30 November Emil Khristov, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, spoke in Sofia at an international seminar of media representatives from the socialist countries (Sofia Domestic Bulgarian 1830 GMT 30 Nov 88)

On 23 November in Sofia Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, received a delegation from the Potsdam Bezirk SED organization led by Guenther Jahn, first secretary of the district SED organization and member of the SED Central Committee on 23 November. (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO Bulgarian 24 Nov 88 p 6) In Sofia Stanishev received a delegation from the CPCZ Central Institute of Marxism-Leninism led by the institute's director, Prof Vladimir Kunovjanek, on 25 November. (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO Bulgarian 26 Nov 88 p 6)

Government Supports Soviet Reduction Proposals
LD0812145088 Prague CTK in English
1317 GMT 8 Dec 88

[Text] Prague Dec 8 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Government fully supports the new extensive proposals for improving the international situation, presented by President Mikhail Gorbachev at the U.N. General Assembly session, head of the press department of the Czechoslovak Government Presidium office Miroslav Pavel said today.

The proposed withdrawal of six tank divisions from the GDR, Czechoslovakia and Hungary by 1991 and reorganization of the units temporarily stationed in these countries in order to give them a clearly defensive structure will undoubtedly contribute towards a further easing of tension in Europe. Also the other initiatives of the USSR prove that new thinking, realism, flexibility and will to conduct a political dialogue are a firm and invariable program of world socialism, the statement said.

Mitterrand Interviewed on Eve of Visit
LD0812111788 Prague Television Service in Czech
2000 GMT 7 Dec 88

[Interview with French President Francois Mitterrand on the eve of his 2-day visit to Czechoslovakia by unidentified Czechoslovak television reporters; questions and Mitterrand responses in French with superimposed Czech translation; given in Paris on 7 December—recorded]

[Text] [Reporter] Mr. President, during your second 7-year term as president, we have witnessed a revival of French diplomacy. How will France contribute to the process of disarmament and the Helsinki process, and what significance does France attach to relations with the socialist countries?

[Mitterrand] There has not been any revival. After all, French diplomacy has continuously been very active since 1981. Perhaps you had in mind that there has been a revival in our relations with East and Central Europe. In its own way, this is true, and if you would like, we could talk about it.

But first you have asked me to explain our position in regard to disarmament. From the very beginning when we learned that talks on disarmament, on intermediate and shorter-range nuclear weapons, on nuclear weapons with a range from 500 kilometers up to 4,500 kilometers and more, were beginning, I declared that this was an excellent initiative, and one which I approved. I was pleased with the Washington agreement between Mr. Gorbachev and Mr. Reagan and I hope that this effort reaches its final objective. And through the transition from this type of weapons to another one, disarmament in the future will be a general one. Both superpowers, that is the United States and the Soviet Union, have started negotiations and talks on disarmament in the field of strategic nuclear weapons, those that can reach targets on both sides of the Atlantic, and have set as their objective the reduction of these weapons by 50 percent. This is very good. Both of these countries have at their disposal between 12,000 and 13,000 nuclear charges, and if they succeed in reducing this number by 50 percent, it will be of general benefit. I also approve of it.

As you know, a conference devoted to chemical disarmament will take place in Paris next year—or rather next month, in January 1989—which will concern itself with seeking ways to prevent in practice the use of chemical weapons, as well as ways to ban their manufacture, which naturally also envisages verification measures. This is good news. This will signify the realization of disarmament in an area which is especially dangerous and worrying, at least for Europe. [word indistinct] let us not talk about biological disarmament. France does not take part in such talks.

And finally, there is the question, which has become almost a principal one, of disarmament in the field of conventional weapons in Europe. And where is the danger here? This is where there is a disbalance, for we can estimate roughly that in the nuclear field there exists a certain type of balance between the East and the West.

Enough about this subject. I shall now answer the last question, which is contained in your broader question, what one should think about the fate of the current talks at the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and how to organize among our countries a system based on confidence and the relaxation of tension.

First, there exists a disbalance here, a disbalance in favor of the forces of the East. When I say "of the East" I am using a language which is understandable to everyone, although the powers which this concerns, which include your country, are, on the whole, not in the east of Europe. This is merely a term which is currently in usage. It is necessary to reestablish a balance and give the platform to diplomats and experts to carry out the necessary analysis. It is necessary that behind the word "balance" is a joint endeavor, which will ensure that neither of the two blocs will be able to act in a moment of surprise and that neither will have at its disposal disproportionate and excessively concentrated military forces. Not that I think that the other side is intending to provoke a conflict, but in view of the fact that we are talking about disarmament, it is better to be watchful. I would like for such an agreement to be concluded.

I regard it as very important that there exist such a forum as the one taking place in Vienna at which all European countries can hold talks together, and it is necessary to maintain this forum. France believes it is very important that each of these sovereign countries be permitted to exchange views on security on our continent. This continent is ours despite the fact that obstacles, frontiers,

divisions, and conflicts exist here. At issue is our continent. I hope that real talks about conventional disarmament can begin very soon; if not within several days, then within several weeks. And France will do everything in her power to contribute to this in a positive manner. Such is France's stand in the field about which you have asked me.

[Reporter] Mr. President, when we are talking about cooperation in Europe, what are the relations towards the socialist countries, what is your view of the idea of the European house, about the creation of the common market [as heard] at the beginning of the year 1993? [year as heard] What are the prospects for cooperation with the socialist countries?

[Mitterrand] Yes, this question was already contained in the question you asked me a while ago. But I would rather discuss it separately because it is a broad question which cannot be fully discussed in the context of disarmament.

I would dearly wish for closeness and exchanges between what I call both parts of Europe. The fateful events of the last world war established certain political, economic, social, and perhaps philosophical frontiers, but I do not think it is a cultural frontier. They were events and hardships of war; but it is also the force of the current ideologies and systems.

I believe that in the future, we must realize that we belong to the same continent—I have just mentioned that. Mr. Gorbachev talked about the common house—after all, our fates are joined, whatever expression we may choose. When several days ago in Moscow, Mr Gorbachev and I were talking in a pleasant atmosphere, and he was recalling the notion of a common house I added: You are thinking about building a common house, and I think about how to furnish the individual stories, that is about how this expression will be fulfilled. It is true that we are distant from one another. It is necessary to establish cooperation between the two large organizations, between the European twelve, the Europe of the European Community and the Europe which is on the other side. One has to multiply the contacts which exist with some countries; there should be more of them. It is also necessary that the standing agreements be given a broader scope. We must get accustomed to common life yet again, at a time when we are witnessing—and I am pleased about this—the relaxation of tension in the main spheres of competition. Some arose in the beginning of the post-war period. I think that we have now reached the time—after all 40 years have passed since the end of the war—when we, the Europeans, can get to know one another better.

The best paths, for the time being, are those of economic contacts, economic aid, as well as cultural contacts. We should get better acquainted with our respective civilizations which were very close to each other over the centuries, our historical sources, our origin, our development, what constitutes our being. All this exceeds frontiers, just as a number of new technologies exceeds these frontiers—let us mention just audiovisual aids. A satellite will appear in the sky, and I can imagine how necessary it will be for us to speed up our relations, to prevent the rise of new misunderstandings, apart from those which already exist. In brief, if I visit your country at the end of this week and Bulgaria at the end of January—these are the two firmly planned visits, there is no fixed date for Poland, probably some time during 1989, and other countries of this part of Europe, just as I visited all the other countries of Western Europe—it is because I wish that France might, to a greater extent, return to the place which belonged to it in the past in those countries where our peoples had often very friendly and warm contacts, but also because I wish that France might thus contribute towards better closeness between what today is still called two houses—houses between which there is no dialogue to speak of.

The time has come to think about Europe as such. We must not have any illusions. There are deep differences between us. Our social systems are very different. We have the notion of democracy which makes us express serious objections to the system applied in the countries of Eastern Europe, but they differ with regard to the country concerned. It is true, but we continue to think that the third basket of the Helsinki conference—that is the question of human rights—is presented before us in a very pressing manner and that great progress must be made in this sphere. Nevertheless, closeness between peoples, and thus also relations between the individual states, appear to me today more necessary than at any time in the past.

[Reporter] And now the last question: You will visit our country, Czechoslovakia, in a few hours' time. It is a historical event inasmuch as it is the first visit ever of the highest French representative to Czechoslovakia—I was told this. I think that this opens up a large scope for mutually getting to know each other. Mr. President, what do you expect from your visit to Czechoslovakia?

[Mitterrand] First of all—we have an understanding for history—when I remember the closeness of ties which connected us with the peoples of your country during the birth of Czechoslovakia, the great personalities that assisted its entry to the international scene, I think that we have a certain duty towards this history. If these memories evaporated owing to bad times and problems connected with the world war and its consequences, it is our duty yet again to establish this historical link. No doubt, much has happened in the past and this estrangement between Czechoslovakia and France has its causes. They include the internal ones, those of differing development of the existing political systems and ways of government.

But I am repeating: I am very interested in coming to Czechoslovakia. I hope that this link will again be established, and I insist on this idea. I would be pleased

if France could become more and better known among the individual generations living in Czechoslovakia. I shall thus meet—and I shall be very interested in this—the chief representatives of your country during the first day of my visit to Prague and the second day to Bratislava. A number of industrialists, directors of enterprises, and representatives of intelligentsia will be accompanying me who will help me to better present my country. I will have contacts with various representatives of your society, including the political spheres of your society in its variety and even in its contradictions. I will be expressing myself completely freely and naturally with the care and respect that belong to the state and the people. And I expect a certain kind of acceleration of the current movement.

Our exchanges are poor in all spheres. They could be much richer in the cultural sphere, we have the instruments and traditions for it. The teaching of French has receded considerably and, apart from this, you are an active country in the economic sphere. You have quite remarkable men and women who belong among the best in a large number of spheres. We have no reason to dissociate ourselves from these abilities of the Czechoslovak people.

And likewise, your fellow citizens must know that they will be accorded the best reception in France, that we have not forgotten our history, and that we wish to restore it. So much about the first point.

Regarding the other area, the meetings I am going to have, I believe I shall visit the University in Bratislava. It will be interesting for me to see things, but what can one see during an official visit? It is not much. Talks with official representatives will enable me to go forward in relations to people. I shall certainly meet figures representing a cross-secton of the population, students. This is always a lively and active group, full of promise, who will one day build our future. These 2 days will be brief, far too brief. This will be a real reestablishment of contacts.

Up to now, there have taken place visits of foreign ministers, which was not at all insignificant. I personally have desired this rapprochement and the first visit to Czechoslovakia of a French head of state—I did not know this, I was amazed when I was informed about this shortcoming—I hope that this visit becomes a source of change. I am deeply interested in your country, in its reality, in its entire depth. And I must say that I am especially emotional about what we shall be celebrating in a few months' time. This involves a great lesson from the Declaration of Human and Civic Rights and from the French Revolution, which had such an exceptional reaction in Czechoslovakia. I wish to accelerate that movement which will enable each citizen everywhere in Europe to feel harmony with that remarkable declaration which remains very up to date [words indistinct] I said unfortunately perhaps because I would be glad to see progress made in this area. [as heard]

And finally, I am going to Czechoslovakia with something more than an interest. I was talking about the extent of this interest; I hope you understood when I was explaining it. I shall be coming with great attentiveness and [word indistinct] both rational and emotional. We fought side by side. As early as in the course of the 1914-1918 war, I remember that my parents provided accomodation in their town in western France to Czechoslovak soldiers. Emotional ties have remained afterwards, some of which have lasted throughout the years, and when I step on your soil, I shall preserve the memory of my father who loved your country so much.

I would like to greet the Czechoslovak people and I shall have the opportunity to greet and meet the president of the Republic, the prime minister, the general secretary of the Communist Party, and all important figures. I believe that one needs to approach these talks with the objective that they will be beneficial.

[Reporter] Mr. President, I thank you very much for the interview.

[Mitterrand] Thank you.

Mitterrand Arrives in Prague

LD0812113288 Prague CTK in English 1037 GMT 8 Dec 88

[Text] Prague Dec 8 (CTK)—French President Francois Mitterrand arrived here on a two-day visit today. He was greeted at the airport by President Gustav Husak at whose invitation the visit takes place.

U.S. Decision on 'Arafat Visit Condemned

AU0612151588 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 3 Dec 88 p 5

[Julius Loerincz commentary in the "A Word on Events" column: "A Willful Act Against the Possibility of Peace"]

[Text] On the night before last, the United States informed UN Secretary General, Javier Perez de Cuellar, that it refuses with final authority to grant an entry visa to Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee. It did so after a vote at the session of the UN General Assembly, at which 151 member states asked the United States to change its decision and grant a visa to the ranking representative of the Palestinian national liberation movement. Only the United States and Israel voted against, and Great Britain abstained. The policy of the United States is at variance with the agreement on the UN seating of 26 June 1947, and even with previous practice, since the United States issued a visa to 'Arafat in 1974 when he addressed UN General Assembly deliberations in New York. Secretary of State George Shultz is of a different opinion now.... Formally, the Americans are substantiating their decision by the fact that the

recent 19th session of the Palestine National Council was attended also by Abu Abbas, who—according to them—was involved in the hijacking of the cruiseship "Achille Lauro."

However, this is just a petty pretext which does not hold water for two reasons: First, the Americans are interpreting Abu Abbas' involvement in the "Achille Lauro" affair in a distorted manner, because he did not actually take part in the vessel's hijacking, but in fact only took part in settling the whole conflict. Second, but not because it would be of secondary importance, the deliberations of the Palestine National Council adopted a decision which has far reaching positive consequences for the general process of seeking a settlement in the Middle East and for peace. The participants in the council deliberations proclaimed an independent Palestinian Arab state; recognized the UN Security Council resolutions Nos 242 and 338 (which, among other things, speak about the right to secure the existence of all states in the region, and thus also of Israel), a matter demanded of the Palestinians by the United States and Israel; and they dissociated themselves from all forms of terrorism. Naturally, in this connection they also rejected the state terrorism of the Israeli regime vis-a-vis the Arabs and, in particular, the Palestinians. Responsible political quarters throughout the world—with the exception of the United States and Israel—assessed the Palestinians' deliberations in Algiers as a display of constructive approach to key Middle East problems, a matter that has shifted the opportunity for peace into an unprecedentedly realistic position.

The refusal of a visa to 'Arafat is the rejection of an extended hand. What is involved is a "willful act, which disregards and ignores real international development," as the press representative of the CSSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs stressed yesterday [2 December]. Not only U.S. allies disagree with that decision, but according to some reports even two of Shultz' subordinates in the U.S. State Department, Michael Armacost and Richard Murphy, and, allegedly, Colin Powell, the President's national security adviser, as well. True, this does not change a thing concerning the fact that the United States did not grant the visa and thus again seriously disturbed its relationship with the UN and rammed a knife in the back of those who are trying to find a solution to the Middle East crisis.

The fact that it proceeds like that vis-a-vis the PLO precisely at a time when this national liberation movement is exhibiting its political maturity, realism, and responsibility for the fate of its people and the cause of peace in general, elicits quite a few questions. Above all, the feeling is gaining strength that in the Middle East, the United States is being towed along by the expansive Zionist policy, that it itself is interested in giving grist to the mill of extremism in the entire region—that is, also on the Arab side. It is not prepared and willing to take a step toward a solution of the Middle East crisis, which would lead to a genuinely just peace and stability.

The United States will not succeed in silencing Yasir 'Arafat and the Arab people of Palestine like that anyway. As the vote at the UN General Assembly session and the statement of the West European countries affiliated in the European Communities revealed, the United States is rather isolating itself, which Washington cannot just shrug off. The trustworthiness of American policy has suffered a serious blow from American hands—on the one hand Washington speaks about being interested in developing dialogue and support a free flow of ideas, but, at the same time, it is refusing to grant an entry visa to the United States to Nicaraguan diplomats who are to take part in UN deliberations, to a Soviet trade union delegation, to a group of Soviet journalists, and now to the chairman of the PLO Executive Committee. This a policy of darkness going back to the times of the cold war, which in a responsible period of mankind's existence, torpedoes efforts to find a way out of the blind alley of confrontation and the policy from the position of strength to a road of cooperation, to democratization and humanization of international relations.

Dissidents' Aims, Western Links Criticized

AU0612081688 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 3 Dec 88 p 3

[Article by Arnost Bak, Marie Boudova, and Jaroslav Kojzar: "What They Are Really After; Transparent Attempts of the Strategists of Psychological Warfare"]

[Text] The continuous psychological warfare waged by NATO countries against the socialist countries is, regrettably, one of the most real realities of our world. In his book "American Foreign Policy," Henry Kissinger, former U.S. secretary of state, once wrote that a radio station churning out reports day after day "can represent a more effective means of pressure than a squadron of B-52 strategic bombers." The FINANCIAL TIMES, the newspaper of the British financial capital, once described such activity as a means that is "more important than missiles."

What aims do the strategists of psychological warfare pursue? In an interview with THE WASHINGTON POST at the beginning of the eighties, P. Nicolaides, the then deputy director of the Voice of America radio station, expressed them openly: "We must destabilize the Soviet Union and its satellites by supporting conflicts between the people and the ruling circles."

In the course of the seventies, but mainly in the eighties, institutions began to sprout up in NATO countries, whose sole occupation is to plan and think through all kinds of psychological operations against the socialist countries. In the mid-eighties, the CIA used to appropriate some $550 million from its annual budget for these operations. According to documents of the U.S. Congress, which once investigated the activity of this espionage organization, 39 percent of these operations were accounted for by operations in which the mass media of NATO countries were misused for the CIA's objectives.

The U.S. Department of Defense employed at that time a staff of 4,500 to conduct psychological warfare, operated 300 radio and television stations in various countries of the world, and published some 700 different newspapers and periodicals.

It goes without saying that part of these resources is used for operations directed against Socialist Czechoslovakia.

W.H. Luers, former U.S. ambassador in Prague, used to devote much "attention" to our country by virtue of his post, but he "has not forgotten" it even now. In last year's fifth issue of the U.S. magazine FOREIGN AFFAIRS he openly meditated about groups of so-called dissidents, on whom Washington's official policy banks in its plans regarding the socialist countries. It was "dissidents" in Czechoslovakia that he had in mind in writing the article. He concedes that their number is not large. However, he gathered that, although they cannot win political power because of their considerable isolation, they are still valuable because they are adept at spreading nationalism and, among other things, at raising—as he explicitly said—the issue of a new concept of "Central Europe," which is to be understood as a new political, and hence antisocialist, orientation of this "Central Europe."

As a matter of fact, some of the so-called Charter 77 signatories have made similar admissions. In an interview with the French magazine LA NOUVELLE ALTERNATIVE last spring, one of them (P. Uhl) assessed the Charter's own activity as follows: "People often have an ambiguous attitude toward the Charter. They regard its signatories either as useful idiots, or as useless idiots." Another Chartist (J. Urban) was even more sincere: "We are incapable of moving among ordinary people. We are an elite...."

It is not that the West has thrown the "Chartists" overboard, but, nonetheless, it is becoming apparent that the staffs of ideological warfare are beginning to focus on the younger generation of adversaries of the social system, on people who can speak the language of the young, who are accessible to a certain pseudo-radicalism, on followers of all sorts of fringe musical currents who feel misunderstood, on those who have had criminal encounters or are in some other kind of conflict with society, as well as on other young people who are unable to discern the antisocialist direction of Charter's aspirations. They [the staffs of ideological warfare] are at least trying to enlist them for participation in demonstrations, disturbances, and the like. The fact is that increased allocations of Tuzex [hard currency stores] vouchers have begun to flow to various addresses in the CSSR from all kinds of "foundations," banks, and associations, behind which is the long arm of special services. The sums involved are in no way negligible. One such remittance which came to the CSSR in mid-October contained Kcs26,000 in Tuzex vouchers. "Gifts" in kind are also being sent, through the medium of emigrants, such as the post-February [1948] refugee and, later on, director of the Munich broadcasting station, P. Tigrid. They include personal computers, video recorders with tapes, duplicating technology, passenger cars, and the like. Even equipment for monitoring short-wave communications has been delivered to our country. "Donors" have even been found to pay the customs duty on some of these "gifts"!

The Western backers do, understandably, have their conditions that need to be met: the provoking of concrete conflicts, the provision of information, the fabrication of analyses of the situation, and the proclamation of various statements, if possible under "different names" to create the semblance of a "broad front" of internal resistance. The Chartists have thus formed several seemingly additional groups, at the head of which they placed themselves, only to create the impression of a broad base. R. Battek, former leading representative of the so-called Club of Committed Nonparty Members, for example, has, while retaining his current leading role in the "Charter" movement, at the same time become the leading figure of "solidarity committees" with two detained dissidents, of the so-called Civil Liberties Movement, the so-called Democratic Initiative, and the so-called Czechoslovak Helsinki Committee. The Chartist L. Lis is a member of the leaderships of the so-called Committee for the Defense of the Unjustly Prosecuted, the so-called Civil Liberties Movement, and the so-called Czechoslovak Helsinki Committee. The names of P. Uhl, J. Carnogursky, B. Dolezal, R. Palous, J. Sabata, J. Dienstbier, V. Maly, and others appear on the "candidate lists" of the "initiatives" formed in this way just as frequently.

Let us ask: What are these groups, and their foreign backers, after? The answer is clear: No matter what words are used to camouflage the aims, no pamphlet of the "dissidents" can hide the fact that its authors are not intent on supporting the current reforms and on improving the current social system, but on overthrowing it.

By what means do they want to achieve this? In the pamphlets which they fabricate, they often hide behind a wall of words about democracy and freedom, and even about restructuring. In reality, however, they completely ignore the changes society is undergoing today, they ignore the process of restructuring.

The Chartists and those like them are intent on gradually bringing about the disintegration of the current system, on changing the foreign policy orientation of our country and making it leave the Warsaw Pact, on pacifying our security forces and the People's Army, and the like. Even the attribute socialist no longer features in their plans, in contrast to the year 1968.

Even in the so-called Charter 77 statement marking 10 years of its activity, they are turning to what they pretend is our public with the appeal to "seize the historic chance

of the moment": "Free yourselves, at long last, from your indolent resignation to fate," they write in this statement. "Stop waiting.... Let us overcome our fear...."

"It is necessary to set out on the road to civil courage," Chartist J. Sabata announced in February. What does this mean? "Making use of all scope, no matter how small," Chartist L. Hejdanek wrote in another article. For the time being they do not have enough strength for large-scale projects, as this same author wrote. However, they are ready for small stings.

Gradually, both the diplomatic services of NATO countries and official government radio stations, such as for example the Voice of America, are being officially dragged into this wheelwork. The success of individual operations is to be guaranteed also by the direct assistance of Western diplomats, who give their private telephone numbers to some prominent chartists so that they can ensure contact with some Western information media should the need arise. In some cases, diplomats assist directly on site. The unauthorized demonstration in the center of Prague a few weeks ago, too, was organized in this way. Support for the so-called Czechoslovakia 88 Symposium was to be rendered also through the participation of some Western visitors to Prague who arrived here on tourists visas.

Scientific socialism is supposedly "philosophically long dead.... The Communist Party is a super-criminal organization and a just verdict is in store for the active exponents and executors of its ideas," said a Charter leaflet of May this year.

Other leaflets followed suit not much later. They all repeat calls against the current political system and offer only one program—the liquidation of socialist production relations.

"We appeal to all our fellow citizens to embark on the road that we propose and to do it in a way that they themselves regard as most suitable," we read in one of their last creations, issued in mid-October. What road is this supposed to be? Disruption of production? Demonstrations? Strikes? Assaults on public officials? Destruction? Recriminations? Attempt at an overt takeover? As you please. Let everyone choose the method of his "specific work."

It is stated here that "there can be no economic pluralism without political pluralism..." What does this mean? To start with, it means the "full restoration of private enterprise in the sphere of small businesses, trades, small enterprises, parts of agriculture, and in culture." The gradual liquidation of agricultural cooperatives is foreseen.

As for big industry, the chartists propose rebuilding it "so that the criterion of profitability is not subordinated to political considerations, such as artificial employment or preferences arising from unnatural international economic relations." This should be followed by "integration into the West European economy."

This so-called manifesto also opposes the alleged militarization of society. It calls for disarmament without the appropriate counterweight. By means of popular slogans about reducing the length of military service, introducing the so-called alternative service, cutting the military budget, and so forth, its authors want to exploit the naivete of some people, especially the young. Why should it matter that 495,000 soldiers of the Bundeswehr, with whose predecessors we have had our own bad historical experiences, stand on the other side of our border? Why should it matter that, alongside West German soldiers, an additional 400,000 NATO troops are deployed in the FRG? Why should it matter that disarmament without the appropriate counterweight means suicide? Or is it only a question of fulfilling the class interests of the NATO pact?

Our respect for national minorities—Hungarians, Poles, Germans, and, as is expressly stated, Ruthenians, which is the term by which the pre-Munich republic used to refer to Ukrainians—supposedly is not deep enough. The construction of large power stations and of prefabricated blocks of flats must supposedly stop. Male monastic orders and other vehicles of political clericalism must supposedly be reinstated, and so forth.

What are they really after? Let us not be afraid of calling a spade a spade: They seek a return to the power structures of the pre-Munich republic, an anti-February, the step-by-step destruction of socialism.

We have said it on many occasions: We will not have the republic disrupted by anyone! This was true of the 1945-48 period, of August 1968, and it is also true today.

Kempny Receives Serbian Delegation
LD0612125188 Prague CTK in English
1134 GMT 6 Dec 88

[Text] Prague Dec 6 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium member and Czech National Council Chairman Josef Kempny met here today with a delegation of the Serbian Skupstina (parliament) led by Chairman Borislav Jovic.

Josef Kempny stressed during the meeting that there were no unresolved problems in bilateral relations, and the two countries had identifical views on global problems such as ecology or North-South economic relations. He pointed out the significance of political and cultural relations between Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. He suggested that the representative bodies of the Czech Socialist Republic and Serbia should be more active in expanding economic relations, replacing the simple exchange of goods and services by closer cooperation, setting up of joint ventures and joint projects at third markets.

Public Forum Will Discuss Human Rights

LD0712100788 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 6 Dec 88

[Text] The Czechoslovak and world public are recalling 10 December 1948, when the United Nations General Assembly adopted and proclaimed in Paris the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the first universal international legal document dedicated solely to the fundamental rights and freedoms of people. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic has become one of the participant countries in all international covenants in the sphere of human rights. The all-round safeguarding of human rights has become the humane essence of our socialist system, the policy of the CPCZ, and of the National Front. Human rights are understood in Czechoslovakia in their broadest sense as a unity of political and civic, but also social, economic, and cultural rights. One of the steps toward strengthening the base for implementing the rights of our citizens is the proposal to set up a Czechoslovak public committee for human rights and humanitarian cooperation, which was proposed at the CSSR National Front Central Committee session on 17 November this year by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and chairman of the National Front Central Committee. Its role is to create a democratic platform for objective assessment of the existing Czechoslovak legal system, to present proposals for possible amendments, and to see how it is actually implemented from the point of view of fulfilling the fundamental rights of our citizens. The committee will work independently and enterprisingly on a broad popular basis and should also contribute toward further deepening the legal education of our citizens. An inseparable part of its work will be its participation in tackling humanitarian questions. Apart from problems of the state, the committee will also focus on implementing international agreements and pacts abroad. It should point to cases of infringement upon human rights in the world, to appeal, wherever necessary, to the appropriate international organizations, to talk with foreign partners.

A Czechoslovak public forum will meet in Prague this Saturday, 10 December, on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Day of Human Rights. It will set up the Czechoslovak public committee for human rights and humanitarian cooperation. The forum is being convened by the CSSR National Front Central Committee together with the Czechoslovak United Nations Association. Representatives of all the political parties; social organizations; interest, artistic, and national associations, religious institutions, labor collectives, and other significant personalities of our public life should take part in the forum in Prague. The majority of participants will be representatives of the organizations in the National Front. There will also be broad participation from other legal structures active at federal or republican levels, including representatives of 72 societies, associations, and organizations. Invitations to attend the forum have also been issued to delegations of all the regional committees of the Nation Front. During the forum of the Czechoslovak public, an address will be delivered on the significance of the declaration of human rights and its implementation in our socialist society. It is envisioned that representatives of the public will engage in a rich debate.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 17-23 Nov

AU2511150988 [Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO and VECERNI PRAHA in Czech, and Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak, from 18 to 24 November report the following appearances of CSSR leaders (sourceline given in parentheses):

The session of the CSSR National Front Central Committee held in Prague on 17 November was addressed by Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, and attended by Ladislav Adamec, Alois Indra, Igrac Janak, Miroslav Stepan, Karel Urbanek, and Miroslav Zavadil, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium members; by Josef Haman and Vladimir Herman, candidate members of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium; and by Frantisek Hanus, CPCZ Central Committee secretary. (Prague RUDE PRAVO 18 Nov p 1)

The concluding session of the Seventh Congress of the Czechoslovak Physical Education Union, held in Prague on 20 November, was addressed by Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, and attended by Jozef Lenart, CPCZ Central Committee secretary, who headed a joint delegation of CPCZ and CSSR National Front Central Committees and the CSSR Government to the session. (Prague RUDE PRAVO 21 Nov pp 1, 7;)

A meeting of employees of the CKD Prague state enterprise with suppliers and USSR partners in the development and production of turbo-compressors and refrigerating facilities for export to the USSR was held in Prague on 22 November and was attended by Miroslav Stepan, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and leading secretary of the CPCZ Prague City Committee, and by Frantisek Hanus, CPCZ Central Committee secretary. (Prague RUDE PRAVO 23 Nov p 2)

The session of the CPCZ Central Committee's Science and Technology Commission held in Prague on 21 November was chaired by Frantisek Hanus, CPCZ Central Committee secretary and chairman of the commission, and attended by Josef Kempny, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and chairman of the Czech National Council. (Prague RUDE PRAVO 22 Nov p 2)

CSSR President Gustav Husak received the organizers of the PRAGA 1988 postage stamp exhibition in Prague on 17 November. On 17 November he received the new UK and Polish ambassadors to the CSSR in the presence of Jaromir Johanes, CSSR foreign minister, in Prague. (Prague RUDE PRAVO 18 Nov p 1)

Ladislav Adamec, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member, received a delegation of CSSR Olympic medalists in Prague on 17 November in the presence of General Milan Vaclavik, CSSR defense minister, and Frantisek Kincl, CSSR minister of interior. (Prague RUDE PRAVO 18 Nov p 1)

The constituent meeting of the CPCZ Central Committee's Culture and Arts Commission, held in Prague on 23 November, was chaired by Miroslav Stepan and attended by Jan Fojtik, both CPCZ Central Committee Presidium members. (Prague RUDE PRAVO 24 Nov p 2)

Mikulas Beno, CPCZ Central Committee secretary, presented the Order of Labor to CPCZ Central Committee staff member Jiri Paulicek on his 60th birthday in Prague on 23 November. (Prague RUDE PRAVO 24 Nov p 2)

Vasil Bilak, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and Central Committee secretary, received Gerald Kaufman, foreign secretary in the British Labor Party's shadow cabinet, in Prague on 21 November. (Prague RUDE PRAVO 22 Nov p 1) He received Jarolim Klabnik, new CSSR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Spain, in Prague on 22 November. (Prague RUDE PRAVO 23 Nov p 1)

Jan Fojtik, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and Central Committee secretary, received a delegation of the Communist Party of India (CPI), led by Pauli V. Parakal, member of the Central Executive Committee of the CPI National Council and chief editor of CPI press organ NEW AGE, in Prague on 17 November. (Prague RUDE PRAVO 18 Nov p 3) He presented the Order of Labor to writer Eva Rezacova in Prague on the same day (Prague RUDE PRAVO 18 Nov p 3) and addressed the ideological seminar for prominent party aktivs in Lovosice on 21 November. (Prague RUDE PRAVO 22 Nov p 2)

Alois Indra, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly, received Noureddine Boujallabia, Bhaupatray M. Oza, Carl Vigand Iohan Lose, and Jose Luis Dicento Ballester, new Tunesian, Indian, Danish, and Spanish ambassadors to the CSSR respectively, and Jarolim Klabnik, new CSSR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Spain, in Prague on 22 November. (Prague RUDE PRAVO 23 Nov p 1)

Ignac Janak, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and first secretary of the Slovak Communist Party Central Committee, received Ioan Patsan, Romanian ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the CSSR, in Bratislava on 21 November. (Bratislava PRAVDA 22 Nov p 1) He attended a reception given by Jozsef Toth, Hungarian consul general, in Bratislava on 22 November. (Prague RUDE PRAVO 23 Nov p 2)

Josef Kempny, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and chairman the Czech National Council, received the winners of a student scientific and artistic competition in Prague on 22 November. (Prague RUDE PRAVO 23 Nov p 2) He co-chaired the meeting of representatives of the Czech and Slovak National Councils in Prague on 23 November. (Prague RUDE PRAVO 24 Nov p 2)

Ivan Knotek, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and Slovak premier, toured the 29 August Works state enterprise in Partizanske on 19 November. (Prague RUDE PRAVO 21 Nov p 2) He received Ioan Patsan, new Romanian ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the CSSR, in Bratislava on 21 November. (Bratislava PRAVDA 22 Nov p 1) He addressed on the same day the Slovak Government aktiv meeting with national committee officials in Bratislava on 21 November; and presented the Order of Labor to two national committee officials on their 60th birthdays in Bratislava. (Prague RUDE PRAVO 22 Nov p 2) He attended the ceremony of the beginning of consumer electronics production in the joint CSSR-Dutch AVEX enterprise - share-holding company in Bratislava on 23 November. (Prague RUDE PRAVO 24 Nov p 1)

Jozef Lenart, CPCZ Central Committee secretary, opened the Seventh Congress of the Czechoslovak Physical Education Union in Prague on 18 November. (RUDE PRAVO 19 Nov p 1) He visited the PRAGOTHERMA 88 exhibition of heating technology in Prague on 20 November. (Prague RUDE PRAVO 21 Nov p 2)

Frantisek Pitra, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and Centr Committee secretary, and Czech SR premier, chaired the Czech Government session in Prague on 21 November. (Prague RUDE PRAVO 22 Nov p 2)

Miroslav Stepan, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member, attended joint session of the Czechoslovak University Student Center of the Socialist Youth Union (SSM) and the International Students Union (ISU) in honor of the International Students Day in Prague on 17 November. He met with an ISU delegation on the premises of the union's Prague Secretariat, and later received a delegation of Prague university students, in Prague on the same day. (RUDE PRAVO 18 Nov p 3) He chaired the extraordinary session of the Prague City Committee Presidium of the National Front in Prague on 18 November. (Bratislava PRAVDA 19 Nov p 2) He addressed the communists in the W. Pieck plant of the CKD Diesel Engines enterprise in Prague on 21 November. (Prague VECERNI PRAHA 21 Nov p 1) He visited the scientific-research base in Prague - Bechovice on 23 November. (Prague RUDE PRAVO 24 Nov p 2)

Karel Urbanek, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and chairma of the Committee for Party Work in the Czech SR, visited the PRAGOTHERMA 88 exhibition

of heating technology in Prague on 18 November. (Prague RUDE PRAVO 19 Nov p 2) He addressed the Fifth Session of the SSM's Czech Central Committee in Sec near Chrudim on 19 November. (Prague RUDE PRAVO 21 Nov p 2; filed as au2311152988)

Miroslav Zavadil, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and chairman of the Central Trade Union Council, received Aleksandr Potapov, member of the Presidium of the USSR's All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions and chief editor of the USSR daily TRUD, attending the Days of TRUD in the CSSR, in Prague on 18 November. (Prague RUDE PRAVO 19 Nov p 2)

Jaromir Johanes, CSSR foreign minister, received Miklos Barity and Karl Peterlik, Hungarian and Austrian ambassadors to the CSSR respectively, in Prague on 21 November. (Prague RUDE PRAVO 22 Nov p 2) He received the representatives of seven Central American embassies to the CSSR, who presented him with the declaration of the recent Punta del Este conference, in Prague on 23 November. (Prague RUDE PRAVO 24 Nov p 2)

Honecker Praises Gorbachev Arms Offer at UN
LD0712213888 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2014 GMT 7 Dec 88

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Owing to the peace initiatives of socialist, nonaligned, and other states, and owing to the efforts of peace-loving and realistic forces throughout the world, positive trends in international developments are beginning to emerge. The peoples regard the implementation of the Soviet Union and the United States Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles as a hopeful initial step toward nuclear disarmament. This assessment was made by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the SED and chairman of the GDR Council of State, on Wednesday during a dinner in honor of Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency.

The meeting with Raif Dizdarevic is taking place at an eventful and important time, when states and peoples have to reach decisions with very far-reaching implications. It is thus only natural that the questions of safeguarding peace, disarmament, and international peaceful cooperation are given special attention in the talks.

Erich Honecker said that the statement made today at the United Nations by Mikhail Gorbachev, that the Soviet Union over the next 2 years will unilaterally reduce forces by 500,000 men in its Armed Forces and will reduce corresponding weapons, deserves great respect and approval. The withdrawal, coordinated with the allies, of 6 tank divisions from the GDR, the CSSR, and Hungary—comprising 5,000 tanks and 50,000 men—is also of historic significance.

The GDR welcomes and fully supports the new, far-reaching proposals and initiatives which were tabled by Mikhail Gorbachev today. They are aimed at continuing and strengthening the disarmament process with new, concrete steps. The Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact member states are thus once again making important unilateral concessions in the interests of guaranteeing international security and strengthening peace. This testifies to its seriousness and determination in the implementation of its peace program.

Erich Honecker said that the GDR is an active joint architect of this program, which is aimed at comprehensive and complete disarmament. It does not leave out any type of weapon, includes the strictest control measures, and preserves in each phase the principle of equality and equal security.

It fills us with satisfaction that the Nonaligned Movement is strengthening its commitment to securing peace, effective disarmament, and the democratic restructuring of the system of international political and economic relations. We salute the decisions of the most recent foreign ministers conference in Nicosia. The GDR representative said that, with the nomination of your country as host for the Ninth Summit of Nonaligned States, the role of your country in this movement is held in high esteem.

The GDR sees its responsibility as contributing to as well as advancing its own initiatives for securing peace. In so doing it is continuing its policy of dialogue and cooperation. The GDR will continue to do everything to strengthen the forces of reason and realism which act to improve international relations.

We see the peaceful future of the people of our continent in a common Europe now. All states are trying to contribute ideas for its creation, the speaker stressed. In our view, nuclear- and chemical-weapons free corridors and zones of trust and security are solid building blocks for this. We have proposed corresponding projects. Their realization, along with that of the zones proposed for Northern Europe and the Balkans, would be suitable for promoting a further reduction in military confrontation in Europe and to favor global solutions.

Erich Honecker stated that we assign extraordinary significance to the conclusion as quickly as possible of the Vienna CSCE follow-up meeting with a balanced and substantial concluding document. The path will thereby be opened for negotiations on conventional disarmament from the Atlantic to the Urals, as well as on further measures to build up trust and security. New fields could be opened up for European cooperation.

The friendship between the Yugoslav and GDR peoples is deeply rooted in the common struggles of the German and Yugoslav working classes against capitalist exploitation, fascism, and war. Today between both socialist states there is close friendship and multifaceted cooperation. Supported on a solid foundation, cooperation is becoming more and more concrete and effective.

We can rightly say that GDR-SFRY relations are at a high level today and are steadily developing and strengthening the SED Central Committee general secretary stated. Our countries are linked by extensive contacts in politics, the economy, education, culture, science, and sports. With an increasing diversity in the forms and methods of their economic relations, the GDR and the SFRY are realizing a considerable volume of mutual trade. Specialization and cooperation both in production and in research and science have progressed well.

As before, we will find—in the spirit of mutual trust and understanding—solutions for new questions and problems which reflect the interests of the two countries and safeguard the stability and continuity of cooperation.

Honecker-Dizdarevic Talks Described

LD0712211688 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1845 GMT 7 Dec 88

[Text] Berlin, 7 Dec (TANJUG)—Bilateral cooperation in all fields, and especially in the economic field, is the basic topic of the talks between Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, and Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, which began this afternoon in Berlin. This afternoon's meeting between the highest-ranking leaders of the two countries at the headquarters of the Council of State began the dialogue which, during the 3-day visit by the president of the SFRY Presidency and members of the Yugoslav delegation to the GDR, will include, apart from bilateral questions, international topics, above all developments in Europe.

Erich Honecker and Raif Dizdarevic stated with satisfaction that cooperation between Yugoslavia and the GDR is developing successfully on the principles of equality, noninterference, respect for their differing international positions, and their own paths of internal development. The principles of mutual relations, it was stressed, were laid down during the meeting between Presidents Tito and Honecker. They were and remain an irreplaceable basis for their constant and stable development.

Particular note was made of the importance of economic cooperation which represents a very significant component in overall bilateral relations. The value of trade and services is just below $1 billion per annum. Next year, however, if the recently signed protocol is implemented, it will exceed this amount for the first time. According to assessments on both sides, this represents a solid basis for defining the new 5-year plan of economic development for the 1991-95 period.

There were also talks on other aspects of cooperation, about which it was stressed that it is rich, comprehensive, and meaningful. This is confirmed by the many links between economic and socio-political organizations, assemblies, cities, and cultural and scientific institutions. It was stated that cooperation in these areas has yielded very good results and with efforts on both sides these can be further enriched. This relates in particular to economic cooperation, which makes it binding on both sides to seek new forms for yet more modern and immediate links between the economic organizations and other components of economic activity.

There will be further talks on all these questions during the coming meetings between the two presidents, while the departmental officials in the two delegations will have more detailed talks on concrete questions.

Before the beginning of the talks, Raif Dizdarevic laid a wreath at the memorial to the victims of fascism and militarism in Unter den Linden in Berlin.

Also participating in the talks, apart from the two presidents, were their colleagues. Participating in the talks on the GDR side are Guenter Mittag, member of the Politbureau, secretary of the SED Central Committee, and deputy chairman of the Council of State; Horst Soelle, member of the SED Central Committee and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; Oskar Fischer, member of the SED Central Committee and foreign affairs minister, and other persons. Participating in the talks on the Yugoslav side are Janez Zemljaric, FEC vice president; Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs; and other officials.

The Yugoslav delegation will visit Potsdam tomorrow and on the following day it will continue the dialogue at the highest level.

Tisch Receives Visiting FRG Trade Union

LD2810124088 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1528 GMT 27 Oct 88

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Harry Tisch, chairman of the National Executive of the GDR Trade Union Federation, FDGB, Thursday in Berlin held talks with a delegation of the Main Executive of the Textiles-Clothing Trade Union in the German Trade Union Federation (DGB) headed by its chairman, Berthold Keller. The FRG guests are staying in the GDR at the invitation of the Central Executive of the Textile-Clothing-Leather Industrial Trade Union (IG) of the FDGB. They had an objective and frank exchange of opinions on the representation of trade union interests in differing social orders and questions of the international situation and of disarmament and detente. Both sides thereby underlined the trade unions' growing responsibility in the struggle for the preservation of peace. They agreed that there must be no break in further disarmament after the praiseworthy achievement of the historically significant INF Treaty. The change for the better being registered is motivating the trade unions in both German states to emphasize their active peace engagement.

The beginning of the withdrawal of shorter-range and intermediate missiles from the territory of the GDR and the FRG and their initiated destruction show the possibilities of attaining through political dialogue true advances in the area of disarmament and arms control in the interests of all mankind. It is a matter of contributing to the progression of change from confrontation to cooperation and making it irreversible.

Harry Tisch informed the meeting of the comprehensive tasks and rights of the GDR trade unions, in particular on the further realization of the main task of unification of economic and social policy. On the basis of the further perfection of socialist democracy, every working person has broad opportunities to actively participate in the organization and planning of the national economy. He

underlined the important role of the Textiles-Clothing-Leather Industrial Trade Union of the FDGB, which is making an independent contribution through the consistent application of key technologies in light industry.

The use of robot technology and microelectronics is a really decisive step in the planned increase in production and in the strengthening of the economic potential. This is all happening in accordance with the meaning and content of the main task, with the aim of better reshaping the working people's living conditions and securing full employment, social security, and safety for all people in the country.

Berthold Keller spoke on the tasks of the Textiles-Clothing Trade Union in the DGB. Although it is not one of the largest in his country, it is committedly representing the interests of an important section of the working people in the FRG textiles and clothing industry. He said that we are actively supporting full employment. But unfortunately the struggle against unemployment is still the first priority. In this context, the trade union chairman pointed out that this year for the first time the Textiles-Clothing Trade Union has succeeded in concluding a comprehensive wage agreement for the textiles and clothing industry as a protection against the effects of rationalization.

Berthold Keller went into the DGB's days of action against social cutbacks, mass unemployment, and curtailing of trade union rights, in which his trade union had also taken part. The far more than 2,000 events, which stood under the motto "Work for all—justice for each person—act together", expresses the increased resistance of the FRG trade unions to planned legislation which was antiworker.

USSR Troop Pullout Proposal Draws Reactions

Defense Committee Comments

LD0812124088 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 8 Dec 88

[Text] Statistics have been given on the partial Soviet troop withdrawals from Hungary at the session of the National Assembly's Defense Committee in Nagyatad. Attila Balint reports:

[Words indistinct] The deputies received the draft budget for next year in three versions. The real value of defense expenditures decreases considerably in every version. The difference is 7 percent, so the question is whether we will subtract 10 or 17 percent, in real value, from defense. I believe that this will be one of the main questions here in the debate of the National Assembly's Defense Committee in the Nagyatad Culture House, where at this moment the deputies are listening to Colonel-General Ferenc Karpati, defense minister, who is justifying and explaining next year's defense budget.

The minister referred to Gorbachev's announcement yesterday, and he said that this gives further impetus to a substantive commencing of talks on European conventinal weapons and to a realization of troop reductions. We await NATO's similar measure in reply, Ference Karpati said, and he added that in this manner the process can be accelerated which can avert the obstacles in front of a complete withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungarian territory. We think, said the minister, that the current measures could affect one-quarter of Soviet troops in Hungary.

Allow me to cite two figures to give an idea (?regarding) the structure and composition of our country's defense expenditures. In 1988, altogether 32 percent of expenditures was devoted to development and the rest to maintenance; in 1989 this proportion will decrease to 16 percent. This structure is an unhealthy distortion, but the economy, the country's capacity to bear burdens, does not enable anything else, and the Army leadership is also compelled to look at this. Thus, it must renounce, or defer until later, the procurement of numerous technical tools.

We also have heard from Ferenc Karpati that fewer reserves are being called up, 40 percent next year [word indistinct], and in accordance with this, less technology, for example fewer trucks will be taken away from people's economic work. Exercises will be organized more thriftily and more rationally, as regards numbers, size, and frequency alike.

Military Expert Interviewed

LD0812143088 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0545 GMT 8 Dec 88

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Since yesterday the world's radios, and ours as well, have been reporting and commenting on the news, particularly, the announcement by Mikhail Gorbachev that the USSR will unilaterally reduce, in 2 years, its conventional armed forces by half a million. This affects Eastern Europe, the European areas of the Soviet Union, and Mongolia. [passage omitted] Jozsef P. Szabo has interviewed Gyeorgy Szentesi.

[Begin recording] [Szabo] What do you, the military expert, consider to be the most important aspect of Gorbachev's announcements?

[Szentesi] First and foremost, that the Soviet Union has proved that there exists an endeavor for a sensible (?sufficiency] in the sphere of conventional weapons, as well. It can be established that in Europe, the asymmetry existing in the sphere of conventional weapons, that is—the superiority existing in certain spheres on both sides cannot be used, first and foremost because there is no danger of war at present. I am convinced that the current Soviet leadership is also of the view that at present, neither NATO, nor the Warsaw Pact, have an offensive objective.

The other aspect, which I consider to be extremely important, is that this should be interpreted as a significant step aimed at coordinating the declarative political aspect and the military-technological aspect of the Warsaw Pact's military doctrine. The declarative political aspect of military doctrine is unequivocally defensive in nature, thus we state that we do not want to attack anyone, we shall not start war, we shall not occupy foreign areas. At the same time, the armed forces available as a background to this do not preclude the possibility of attack. This position of an offensive nature is now considerably lessened by the enormous disarmament step, which affects both force numbers and weapons.

It can be said that all this seriously foreshadows the possibility of creating a structural offensive incapability, that is—the military doctrine's declarative and military-technological aspect being in full agreement.

[Szabo] Half a million soldiers, or 800 battle machinery [harci gep]—these are striking statistics for the public today. However, how many are there here, facing one another, in the european region?

[Szentesi] Precise figures cannot be given on this, since neither we, nor NATO, have made them public. According to suppositions, these 500,000 people amount to 25 percent of the entire strength of the Soviet landforces, and 10,000 tanks amount to roughly 25 percent of the total stock of tanks. Although I say that, the figures are not precise.

[Szabo] American reactions, and reaction in the world, have been very favorable. Nevertheless, I heard in one of Secretary of State Shultsz's statements that the Gorbachev announcement is significant, the Soviet armed force reduction is significant, but there remain considerable asymmetries.

[Szentesi] Naturally, and not only on our side, but on NATO's side as well. The asymmetry is two-sided, since both sides developed their armed forces differently, they developed differently their land forces and the other kinds of armed forces-the air force and the navy, as well. I have to say, sincerely, that NATO has a considerable superiority in these latter spheres.

[Szabo] So I can interpret this as: In spite of our making reductions in certain spheres where we had a superiority, there are still asymmetries in these same spheres.

[Szentesi] There may conceivably remain asymmetry, but since there is asymmetry in other spheres on the other side, these asymmetries may not only be eliminated as the result of the next talks, but after the elimination of asymmetries, perhaps it may be possible to go even lower in the level of armed forces weapons.

[Szabo] In his radio statement, Geza Kotai, head of the Central Committee Foreign Affairs Department, said that the Soviet military force reduction first would affect the GDR, then Czechoslovakia, and finally Hungary—in this sequence. The French news agency, AFP, taking NATO's statistics as its basis, says that by this, the strength of Soviet soldiers in the affected areas would decrease by one-quarter.

[Szentesi] I can neither confirm, nor refute, the French news agency's statistic, because we only know precisely the size of the strength of Soviet Armed Forces stationed in Hungary. As Janos Kadar has said, this is 62,000 men. Regarding what proportion of this will be withdrawn, obviously we will get precise information on this in the course of reduction, and obviously, when the Warsaw Pact and NATO exchange the statistics of their armed forces and weapons.

[Szabo] What impact will the Gorbachev announcements have on future disarmament talks?

[Szentesi] My conviction is that they will considerably advance conventional armed force and weapons reductions, and they will create a basis for the all-European armed force and weapons reduction talks that get underway in the wake of the successful conclusion of the Vienna follow-up talks which is absolutely necessary for the reductions being successfully carried out. [end recording]

Kotai Queried on Proposal

LD0712222488 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 7 Dec 88

[Text] [Announcer] A short time after the Gorbachev speech, Jozsef Orosz sought out Geza Kotai, head of the MSZMP Central Committee's Foreign Affairs Department.

[Begin recording] [Correspondent Orosz] General Secretary Gorbachev designated three East European countries at the United Nations: Czechoslovakia, the GDR and Hungary. Is it possible to know what concrete effect the arms force reduction will have on Hungary?

[Kotai] If we take into consideration current European military security forces relations, then in my view the three times one-third proportion is not justified and just. In my estimation this should perhaps affect the GDR a little more—but this is only my assumption—to a smaller degree Czechoslovakia and I put our country in third place. In any event the target is of such magnitude that even in regard to Hungary these reductions will be considerable.

[Orosz] When will they begin?

[Kotai] This will take place within 2 years. This will be a process and not a step that will occur within 3, 4 days, or 1 or 2 weeks.

[Orosz] Following Gorbachev's announcement, in what way will the European balance of forces change?

[Kotai] According to the data which are known at present, there are considerable asymmetries, in certain areas to the advantage of the NATO or the West European countries; and in certain areas to the advantage of our countries, the member states of the Warsaw Pact. This unilateral step, announced by the Soviet Union, will reduce the asymmetries where we have a certain superiority. It is obvious that this is a very important, a very significant, a repeated Soviet political gesture in the field of unilateral reductions. We very much hope, as we have also voiced many times, that our Western partners and the NATO partner states will respond constructively to this initiative and that they will take measures for making reductions where they have superiority, for example, in respect to fighter bombers or combat helicopters. [end recording]

Grosz Grants Interview to Paris Paper

PM1411110088 Paris LE MONDE in French 10 Nov 88 p 8

[Interview with MSZMP General Secretary Karoly Grosz by Jacques Amalric and Sylvie Kauffmann in Budapest—date not given]

[Text] [Interviewer] Can the process of political reform which you have started—reform of the Constitution and of the electoral law—lead to a multiparty system?

[Grosz] Can this lead to a multiparty system? I say yes, but I personally am not in favor of such a development. I think that it would be much more effective for the noncommunist organizations now being formed to form

associations for the defense of specific interests and to play a part in the country's political life. But, theoretically, it is not impossible that we will eventually have a number of political parties.

[Interviewer] So, for instance, you do not want the Democratic Forum to present candidates in the elections, as it is asking to do?

[Grosz] I do not want that. But it may have candidates.

[Interviewer] People are sometimes suprised by the conflicting statements made by some Politburo members on this question of a multiparty system....

[Grosz] The one-party system is not a matter of principle for us. It is possible to ruin socialism with one party or several. It is also possible to succeed with one party or several. At all events, until our next congress in 1990, we will live under the one-party system and we will not start a debate on this question before then. However, it will be decided at the congress.

First, I am not in favor of having parties which would just exist for show. Second, I cannot imagine parties which would wish to change the existing social and international obligations. It will take several decades before that happens. From this viewpoint, 1945 is not so very long ago.

[Interviewer] Is that socialist pluralism? Does it mean respecting international pledges and the social model?

[Grosz] That is not the definition of socialist pluralism, it is simply the limit which must not be crossed. Anything can be done within that limit. Socialist pluralism means that the different interests which exist in society can all surface and confront each other. But, if somebody proposes leaving the Warsaw Pact, I am afraid that it is not a relevant stance.

[Interviewer] You said that you would give up the post of prime minister on 24 November, at the next session of parliament. Who will succeed you?

[Grosz] I cannot tell you yet, but I would like an expert in economics who is also at home in politics.

The Leadership's Divisions

[Interviewer] Why do you now want to devote yourself exclusively to the party?

[Grosz] When a government tackles reforms as far-reaching as the ones which we have started, it cannot implement them if it does not have society's support. Some of our previous reforms failed for that reason. Western Kremlinologists explain variations in the rate of Mr Gorbachev's reforms by resistance in the army and bureaucracy. There are certainly opponents in those circles, but that is not the essential thing. Either a people understand what the country's leadership wants or they do not and are unable to support it. I therefore think that if our government is to succeed in its task, it must receive greater support from the party than I have received and am receiving.

[Interviewer] Seen from outside, the party leadership does not seem to be united, it seems to be divided into three factions represented by three men: you in the center, Janos Berecz, who is very cautious about the reforms, and Imre Pozsgay who clearly does not think that things are moving rapidly enough.

[Grosz] There is no personal rivalry, and I am beginning to regret this. If the leadership members have no personal ambition, they deprive it of great strength. But, the leadership is completely united on the program. The debate is about methods. I have not believed in infallible leaders, governments, or parties for a long time. The debate is certainly not unnatural.

No Rehabilitation of Imre Nagy

[Interviewer] Is the rehabilitation of Imre Nagy (Footnote 1) (He was prime minister from 1953 to 1955 and tried to pursue a policy of liberalization before being ousted from his post by General Secretary Rakosi. Following the 1956 events, he returned to government; he was secretly executed after the Soviet intervention) conceivable?

[Grosz] No. Not in the near future nor, I think, in the long term. We do not yet know which Imre Nagy to rehabilitate. He led a rather inconsistent life. The Hungarian opposition and the Westerners who are showing an interest in him only read every other page of his biography.

His life must be examined and studied. He was primarily a highly sectarian politician, one of the most loyal servants of Stalin and Rakosi. But, in 1953, he recognized the need for change in a very intelligent way. He was an educated and intelligent man. But it is now difficult to make allowances for the compromises which he deliberately accepted and the erroneous decisions he made. This period must be analyzed with great objectivity, this is one of the debts we owe.

With regard to the question of his final resting place, it will soon be settled. The decision has already been made in principle, but we have a practical problem: the identification of his present grave. When he was prime minister, Nagy ordered that executed people should be buried in unmarked graves. All the people who buried Imre Nagy are now dead, and we have no documents indicating where he is buried. The opposition has named a plot where he is allegedly buried. But we still have to identify the remains to be sure that they are his (Footnote 2) (The "plot" to which Mr Grosz refers is in fact a common grave in Rakoskeresztur cemetery, in Budapest).

[Interviewer] How do you explain the fact that the USSR now seems to be implementing more reforms than many East European countries?

[Grosz] After much agonizing, the Soviet leadership finally recognized the need for change. The leadership comprises determined people who will carry through their program, but who initially underestimated the scale of the task. Gorbachev himself recently told me that he could still only see the tip of the iceberg. Some people, who cannot even see the tip of the iceberg, think that the iceberg does not exist. For instance, some of our socialist friends think that everything is fine in their country. That is their business. We have as yet done too little in this country.

A system which is incapable of creating human conditions which will ensure that people remain there, cannot survive for long. If socialism cannot create such conditions, it will not constitute an alternative solution for mankind.

We have taken risks and I do not regret anything. On 1 January we opened our borders even more. All Hungarians can travel, can decide to stay here or leave permanently. Only 0.7 percent of passport applications have been turned down, and only people who have been found guilty of crimes or are being prosecuted are affected. We have a large number of mathematicians, and engineers, and they are all free to leave.

The Romanian Affair

[Interviewer] You met with Mr Ceausescu in Arad last August to discuss the fate of the Hungarian minority in Romania. He refused to change his position at all. It is even said that some of your colleagues criticized you for not being firm enough....

[Grosz] You are well informed. We do have disagreements on the assessment of the results of that meeting. I do not regard that mission as a victory or a defeat. It is impossible to close a debate which has been going on for centuries in 12 hours of talks. I did not have any such illusions when I left and I still do not.

There are fundamental ideological and political differences between Ceausescu and I and between Romania and Hungary. What are they? Mr Ceausescu has a different concept of socialism from us. He says that the nationalities problem has been solved. We do not think so. He thinks that the lives of Hungarians in Romania are not our business. That is not our view. He thinks that the fact that our two systems have the same ideology prohibits us from criticizing Romania. We think differently. He condemns the mass demonstrations which have taken place here against the "systematization" of Romanian rural districts. We do not agree: If we allow Hungarians to demonstrate against the construction of a dam on the Danube, I do not see why we should ban them from protesting the destruction of Transylvanian villages. To return to the results of my visit, I think that I would have had more success in Hungary if I had announced to the crowd outside parliament that Transylvania would in future be part of Hungary. But that is not part of my program, and I regard the borders established after World War II as definitive.

[Interviewer] How many refugees are there in Hungary and what status do they have?

[Grosz] Around 12,000 already have residence permits, and we have received several tens of thousands of applications. It is an enormous problem. And there is a new phenomenon: There are not just people of Hungarian origin, there are also those who do not speak Hungarian. How will they find work in our country if they do not speak our language? At all events, they must all realize that if they apply for Hungarian nationality, they will not be able to return to Romania.

[Interviewer] Is that why you are planning to join the High Commission for Refugees?

[Grosz] Yes. But we are only at the stage of initial contacts.

The Economic Crisis

[Interviewer] Theoretically, the economic reform in Hungary has been under way for more than 20 years. In practice, it is as if the bureaucracy had maintained all its powers and was hindering the enterprises' autonomy....

[Grosz] The reforms progressed more rapidly from 1968 to 1973. There was then deadlock until 1980. Why? Because during those years, the leadership was concerned solely with handling everyday problems, without realizing that the price explosion from 1973 called everything into question again. Since fall 1987, we have done more than has been done for many years. We have not only handled serious everyday tensions, but we have also started to modernize the management apparatus. On 1 January a new tax system came into force—and there have been enough complaints about it! But the life of the country continues and we have never before repaid so many of our debts.

[Interviewer] What progress has been made in drawing up the rules on foreign enterprises with mixed capital?

[Grosz] The rules governing such companies were defined in the law on companies adopted last September, and which even makes provision for the possibility of enterprises with 100 percent foreign capital. The only limit proposed relates to enterprises with more than 50 percent foreign capital: They will have to obtain authorization. We still have to decide what regulations will be necessary to prevent a foreign investor from being caught up in bureaucracy. Do you know that such investors currently need 1,003 signatures, including that of the fire service chief?

[Interviewer] Is it true that there is now a debate on whether or not there will be communist party cells in foreign enterprises?

[Grosz] Yes, there is a debate. But the only thing which the owner can demand is that the party cell should not interfere in the decisionmaking process and not meet during work hours. Indeed, the real debate relates to the nonintervention of party cells in the production process of all enterprises, whether they have foreign capital or strictly Hungarian capital.

Redefining the Tax Scales

[Interviewer] Do you not think that the introduction of VAT and especially of direct income tax has curbed many Hungarians' eagerness to work, because they think that it is no longer worth working overtime?

[Grosz] Yes, that is true, but it is not the result of VAT, but of income tax. We intend to redefine the tax scale, because average salaries are most seriously affected. We have had a major debate around this table and I was in favor of a very strict system, because in this country it is easier to give than to take back....

[Interviewer] The Hungarians' purchasing power has dropped by almost 25 percent in 1 year and there were some very localized strikes this summer. Are you not afraid of demonstrations of discontent on a wider scale?

[Grosz] Yes, there will be more strikes, many more. But this does not worry me. I will work to tackle this situation in the party.

[Interviewer] How many people in Hungary are unemployed?

[Grosz] There are virtually no unemployed people. Do you know that 55,000 jobs are vacant and that a skilled worker now can now choose between nine jobs? For years, I have been building a house for my retirement. But if I want labor at the weekend, I have to pay three times the hourly wage.... The restructuring of the economy will lead to the loss of between 150,000 and 200,000 jobs. What is this compared with the 800,000 jobs which the restructuring of agriculture cost us in 3 years? No, this certainly does not worry us.

CEMA's Limits

[Interviewer] What do you expect your visit to Spain and France to achieve?

[Grosz] We have the feeling that we can benefit from those countries' experience. At the same time, we must make our experiences better known abroad. I was recently in a big Western country where I was constantly told: "You, in the Eastern bloc...." This "Eastern bloc" is not a bloc. It is a military bloc, not a political or economic bloc. The characteristics of each of the countries in this bloc have grown stronger recently and this is a good thing.

We have excellent and very harmonious relations with the FRG leaders. One of the secrets of this relationship is that we meet regularly at all levels.

[Interviewer] Is it true that you have not replied to a proposal from South Korea on constructing an automobile factory in Hungary?

[Grosz] It is true that we have not made any decision about manufacturing automobiles in Hungary. Our experts are studying the question, because we only need 250,000 cars per year. And no European country, socialist or Western, is prepared to allow in the surplus production.

[Interviewer] How do you explain the fact that the socialist countries have not succeeded in creating a joint automobile industry in the past 40 years?

[Grosz] The question has never really been raised in the CEMA framework. There was division of labor. Hungary was given the job of manufacturing buses. We have fulfilled our mission: We are now the third biggest bus producer in the world. Automobile construction was entrusted to two other countries: the USSR and Poland. You can see what is happening in Poland, they are unable to deliver the goods. The Soviets are incapable of honoring their commitments to the socialist countries because their internal demand is too high.

I am strongly criticized for wishing to make the Hungarian economy follow the Western economies' lead. I have only one answer: Until we put an end to markets in which you can sell absolutely anything, there will be no real development.

Transylvanian Friendship Circle Set Up in Gyor

LD0312184488 Budapest MTI in English
1720 GMT 3 Dec 88

[Text] Budapest, December 3 (MTI)—A Transylvania friendship circle was set up on Saturday in Gyor. It was announced at the founding session that of the refugees who have arrived from Transylvania to date, more than 12,000 have requested and been granted settlement permits. The aims of the circle include to promote the social adaptation of persons resettling from Transylvania, to mobilize the social forces that support this, to organize their interest representation. The members of the circle strive to get acquainted with and popularize the culture and way of thinking of the peoples living together in Transylvania.

Feeling responsible for the Hungarians living in Transylvania, the circle seeks opportunities to provide assistance, and to protest against the destruction of villages, and the violation of universal human rights and minority rights.

Grosz Interviewed at TU Conference

AU0712091588 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 5 Dec 88 p 3

[Interview with MSZMP General Secretary Karoly Grosz by Correspondent Zoltan Hegyes: "Interview with Karoly Grosz—From Its Top Onto Its Base"—at the conference of the National Trade Union Council in Budapest on 4 December]

[Text] Our correspondent interviewed Karoly Grosz prior to his speech to the TU conference.

[Hegyes] You have been present at the conference from the beginning, and you have already heard a lot of contributions. Please, tell us something about your experiences.

[Grosz] This conference is a great and reassuring experience for me. It is great because I have gained information here which I could hardly have obtained otherwise. It is reassuring because I have heard speeches delivered by responsible people, openly and honestly. The intention to improve things and the efforts for renewal were reflected in all these speeches.

[Hegyes] At its conference in May 1988, the MSZMP declared that it wanted to become a party engaged in politics. If you consider these speeches from this viewpoint, what is your opinion about this?

[Grosz] We can do anything for a party engaged in politics, but it is no good if we do not have a partner with whom to engage in politics. If we want to turn the pyramid from its top onto its base and if we want to build from below—and this is what we want—then we need the sort of trade union movement whose framework is being shaped here from hour to hour. We have to introduce a social practice in the near future in which the tasks of the party and the mass organizations are clearly delineated. The party should work out a political strategy, the trade unions should become a real forum that represents interests, and the KISZ should primarily take care of the young people. Only in such a framework can I imagine partnership relations for building the future. As I see that the trade union activists understand these efforts, I repeat that I feel very content at this conference and I am optimistic.

Pozsgay Queried on Economic, Political Situation

AU0712151788 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 7 Dec 88 p 7

[Interview with Hungarian State Minister Imre Pozsgay by Peter Philipps in Bonn: "We No Longer Need the Red Army From the Domestic Policy Point of View"; date not given]

[Text] Philipps: The trade unions in Hungary have threatened not to support the government's restrictive austerity course. Is Hungary now about to face Polish conditions?

Pozsgay: We hope that this is not the issue. Last week I had talks with the trade unions on behalf of the government. During these talks my interlocutors—and even the general secretary of the trade union federation—certainly demonstrated their readiness to take into account that the financial reserves of the government are limited and that certain restrictive measures are necessary at the cost of the standard of living. Therefore, in using these limited reserves we have to set certain priorities: First, preserving the real value of pensions, and second, we have provided means so that during the next economic year progress can be made in two important areas, namely in the education and health sectors of the country.

If we really were to embark on the Polish path, we would need the fire brigade instead of the government—the fire brigade which would have the task of extinguishing the bush fires everywhere in the country that would leap up here at one time and there at another.

Philipps: Is everyone aware of this?

Pozsgay: It is difficult to understand that a government—if it wants to pursue a real economic policy—cannot only assume the position of the working people but also has to think of other factors, which indirectly also serve the working people, that is—the situation of investments, capital allocation, and trust of capital in general.

The basic difference of opinions with the trade unions concerns the decrease in real wages next year. The government plans envisages a real wage decrease of 6 percent, while the trade unions only want to accept a real wage decrease of 3 percent at most. Of course, we would very much like to come close to the trade union position, but if the government were to do this, this would fundamentally endanger the state budget. We respect the trade unions' standpoint and we certainly understand that it is very difficult to support a restrictive economic policy. We do not ask the trade unions to support it. However, precisely in the interest of improving the overall situation, the government is firmly determined to implement the so-called Version A—and this is the stricter, harsher, and more austere economic course.

Philipps: Thus, the trade unions are no longer the party's Leninist transmission belt?

Pozsgay: No, they cannot be this any more and they have not been this in Hungary for quite some time. The idea of trade unions as transmission belts is anachronistic in our view.

Philipps: Would you accept being called a "counter-thinker" and a reform communist?

Pozsgay: Yes. I am a reform communist—and I affirm this at home, too. Because our system has to be reformed. I am looking for majorities to do this.

Philipps: You have already found one—the change from Kadar to Grosz at the head of the party is proof of this. In which way is Kadar different from Grosz?

Pozsgay: Kadar has done Hungary great service. After the terrible events in 1956 he stabilized and consolidated the country. Even though he did not remove the Stalinist structures despite all changes, he is looking back on great achievements in his life. Grosz is faced with new, great demands. He must change the system of political institutions.

Philipps: To take up the issue of 1956: Will Hungary now also seriously deal with the chapter of Imre Nagy?

Pozsgay: I am chairman of a commission that has broached this problem. Yes, it will be conscientiously dealt with, and this will be done in such a way that belief will not replace science. However, I cannot say more about this at present, because we have agreed in the commission not to make things more difficult by making preliminary public statements before our report has been finished.

Philipps: Are the Hungarians trying to show the Soviet Union in practice what it is only striving for at present?

Pozsgay: The Soviet Union is a great power, an empire with many peoples on its territory. In Hungary there are only 10 million people. The two situations cannot be compared.

Philipps: What is Moscow to you? The big brother, the watchdog?

Pozsgay: The Soviet Union is our ally that has some important experiences that we do not have. In this respect Moscow can give us advice.

Philipps: What about the limits of the Hungarian way?

Pozsgay: Today, in Gorbachev's time, the limits are without doubt wider than during the time of his predecessors. They are very wide.

Philipps: Can you imagine that there would be no Red Army deployed in Hungary in the near future?

Pozsgay: For quite some time the Soviet troops have not been needed in our country for domestic policy reasons. And I can also imagine that in the medium term they will no longer be stationed in our country. However, this has to be done in the wake of general disarmament steps since it is a matter that concerns the alliance.

Philipps: Gorbachev likes to talk about the European home. Is this image of any use to you?

Pozsgay: The term of a European home is definitely of use to me. In particular, I can very well imagine a room—called central Europe—for Hungary in this home, because this is where we belong. With regard to what the exact furniture should be like—for instance in the form of new institutions—Gorbachev has to present further proposals.

Philipps: And what does this mean for CEMA?

Pozsgay: CEMA, too, has to be fundamentally reformed. To reach this goal, the first step must be a common, convertible currency following the example of the European Currency Unit, and the second step must be the gradual convertibility of the individual national currencies.

Philipps: Thus, a conceptual approach to the EC. Can you also imagine a formal approach to the EC?

Pozsgay: CEMA and EC have to come together more closely—particularly in central Europe.

Philipps: However, there are deeply rooted mutual fears in the Western and in the Eastern half.

Pozsgay: It is a psychological problem to eliminate these fears, which can be solved only by means of slow steps toward mutual trust.

Philipps: But who guarantees that Prague 1968 will not recur?

Pozsgay: The long period of 20 years that has passed since then. We have learned.

Philipps: Will there be a multiparty system in Hungary in the foreseeable future—including the possibility that one day it will not be the MSZMP that forms the government?

Pozsgay: Well, actually it is not the task of a ruling party to think about how it can best bring the opposition to power. But, seriously, with the constitutional reform parliament will also introduce the multiparty system. The opposition groups in our country already have full freedom of movement today.

Philipps: Mr State Minister, Hungary is the one CEMA country with the highest debts. Have you been to Bonn to get new loans?

Pozsgay: The real reason for my trip to the FRG was an invitation by the Arnoldsheim Evangelical Academy. There I gave a lecture. Before, I stayed in Switzerland for a few days, where I had talks with representatives of political life and of financial circles and also gave lectures at the invitation of the Swiss European Union.

Philipps: Loans were not the issue?

Pozsgay: No, I did not have such an assignment. These talks were rather of an informative character, noncommittal talks. Primarily, I wanted to brief financial circles and leading businessmen about the possibilities for investments and for placing capital in businesses in Hungary.

Philipps: Mr Pozsgay, what is the relationship between the FRG and Hungary like? Is there the desire for more investments?

Pozsgay: These relations are without problems—mostly without problems—and they are relations that are being developed. Of course, it would be very advantageous for us and it would be of great benefit to the Hungarian economy if German capital were more interested in us. On the other hand, we also want to be realists, and we know that it is also our fault, that we have not yet done enough. On the one hand, we have to present the opportunities more clearly and develop more activity on the Hungarian side, and on the other, we naturally have to give guarantees so that investors also feel secure.

I think that recently we have already started to establish far-reaching guarantees for the security of investors. In this connection I particularly think of legislative measures, such as the recently passed corporation law: It provides a guarantee to the investors, the possibility to transfer profits, etc. Of course, trust can only be further developed mutually, it requires a certain readiness of both sides for initiatives.

Philipps: In which area would investments be most important to you?

Pozsgay: There is no doubt that priority has to be given to the industrial branches which are linked with demanding electronics, where there is little need for material input and much more need for know-how and technology. We also see great opportunities, great chances in participation in investments in infrastructure, for instance in the field of tourism.

However, I would not consider it unfavorable, if a German entrepreneur, a German investor, would take a close look at our currently idling heavy industry—the sector that we want to reduce just now—to see whether there might not be some possibility to improve this sector with help from their side.

And, last but not least, we naturally do not want to exclude the possibility of getting new loans, even though we do not want to further raise Hungary's debts, which are large anyway.

Philipps: Mr State Minister, when one is speaking of German-Hungarian relations, one must not neglect the topic of minorities in your country.

Pozsgay: In Hungary this is no longer a problem at present—from the political point of view. However, it can be a problem with regard to identity. The German minority in Hungary—like any minority in Europe—has suffered a great deal in the course of history. The most tragic blow in our century were, without doubt, the expulsions in 1945-46. This was, however, not a Hungarian invention but was the result of the international conditions after World War II. However, this has left fears in those who have stayed on. And sometimes such fears do not disappear over decades, even though for decades Hungary has pursued a policy with regard to the minorities, to the different nationalities, which, I think, is not bad at all and may make a claim to trust.

In this, Hungary is primarily guided by humanitarian aspects and by the conviction that the presence of these ethnic minorities is also of benefit to Hungary itself. Therefore, we have actually been trying for decades—but in particular over the past 15 years—to institutionalize the rights of these minorities, so that the rights of the nationalities are effective not only in the field of human rights but so that the minorities can also implement their collective rights. Therefore, the ethnic minorities have been permitted to establish their own political organizations, which naturally have a very important function in representing their interests. One could also say that Hungary is pursuing a sort of positive protectionism in the field of or in connection with the nationalities. Because, on the one hand, we think that Hungary definitely has to make up for some things done to the nationalities, and, on the other, we think that it is also in the interest of the Hungarian nation that the ethnic minorities can live in this way. The largest ethnic minority in Hungary is the German one. And this ethnic group has been living here for a very long time, actually since the liberation from the Turks 300 years ago.

Philipps: What your neighbor Ceausescu is currently doing to the minorities in Romania is exactly the opposite.

Pozsgay: What is happening in Romania is the biggest human rights violation in Europe. Therefore, we want to make clear that this is not a Hungarian-Romanian problem but that what matters is the fact that elementary human rights are violated in a European country. This causes grief and anger in Hungary and is also a domestic

policy problem, because there is hardly one family that does not have relatives in Transylvania. These Hungarians have not moved for centuries—only the borders have shifted. What happens in Romania is a challenge to the entire community of peoples. We, who know how to write, can and should do at least one thing: Keep the conscience of mankind awake.

Marosan, Halmos Hold Press Conference

AU0612104788 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 2 Dec 88 pp 1,5

[Unattributed report: "Council of Ministers Holds Session—Enterprise Wage Regulations Eased—Proposals To Ease the Budget Deficit—Press Conference by Government Spokesman Gyorgy Marosan"—with the participation of State Secretary Csaba Halmos, chairman of the State Office for Wages and Labor, in Budapest, on 1 December]

[Excerpts] At its session on 1 December, the Council of Ministers heard and approved a report on the guiding activity of the Pest County Council Executive Committee.

The government made a proposal to the National Assembly to modify certain social security regulations. In harmony with the restructuring of the government management, the Council of Ministers initiated a modification of certain legislation in order to establish a Ministry of Transportation, Communications, and Construction.

The government discussed a report on the expected implementation of the social and economic program of housing construction in the Seventh 5-Year Plan, and then approved the housing measures proposed for 1989.

The Council of Ministers listened to a report on the wage mechanism in 1989. The government will work out the relevant regulations by considering the positions of the National Interest Coordination Council.

The government made a decision on public transportation services, the operation of public road vehicles, and on the introduction of personnel training. The government transferred the right to shift to the two-level council management into the county councils' sphere of authority.

Gyorgy Marosan and Csabas Halmos faced the press while the Council of Ministers was still in session. [passage omitted]

MAGYAR RADIO: I have a question for Csaba Halmos: Enterprise wage policy limitations will stop; what will happen to people working in budget-financed institutions, people whose wages are already very low compared to the wages of enterprise employees?

[Halmos] At its last meeting, the government dealt with the wage policy attitude toward budget-financed institutions. I have received several hundred letters in the past 1 or 2 months which contain justified wage demands on the part of budget-financed institutions. The government agreed that an adequate long-term program was needed to ease this problem. [passage omitted]

DUNANTULI NAPLO: I have heard that the Council of Ministers is also dealing with the issue of further introducing the two-level council management. Could you give us some details on this? [Marosan] At the moment, I cannot give you a very exact or thorough presentation of the issue because the Council of Ministers has not yet discussed this. Anyhow, the decisive trend in modernizing our public administration is to give the local councils as much independence as possible and to make contacts between the county and the settlements increasingly direct. By recognizing this trend, the Council of Ministers accepted the introduction of a two-level management in four counties at the beginning of this year. Our experiences with this have been very favorable. [passage omitted]

FIGYELO: How is the liberalization of wage regulations expected to affect the government's anti-inflation policy?

[Halmos] The liberalization of wage regulations was a correct decision demanded by a broad strata of the population. I listened with great satisfaction to the positive treatment of the report submitted by the State Office for Wages and Labor. I hope that a broad strata of society will feel the same in 1 year. [passage omitted]

With slight exaggeration, I could say that the fate and future of the wage reform is now in the hands of the enterprises, if the enterprises make proper use of this opportunity of wage liberalization and do not consider it as an opportunity to exploit the situation now because a new tough wage regulation could become valid again in 1990. If they do, then the anti-inflation policy will, unfortunately, remain only a very nice declaration, because, obviously, measures would then be introduced that would have an unfavorable effect on consumer prices and, consequently, on people who are in a disadvantaged situation. [passage omitted]

Szabo Addresses Vas County Party Conference

AU0712093488 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 5 Dec 88 p 5

[Report by Correspondent Eva Terenyi on speech by MSZMP Politburo Member Istvan Szabo, chairman of the National Council of Producer Cooperatives, at a Vas County party conference on 4 December: "Vas County—For Reforms and Order—Istvan Szabo's Speech"]

[Text] Istvan Szabo conveyed the greetings of the Central Committee and then pointed out that both the draft position submitted at the conference and the verbal

supplement were formulated in the spirit of reform, and then stressed that we should accept this reform process that has emerged in the Hungarian party and society, a process initiated by the MSZMP. The MSZMP Conference of May 1988 was the landmark of this process of renewal.

Istvan Szabo then spoke about the international conditions in which the Hungarian reform process is taking place, and stressed that there are great burdens today on the party that initiates reforms, but it hopes that these tasks can be solved by political means, and they do not lead to unbearable tensions that could lead to a counter-revolution. As such a danger can also emerge, the MSZMP is facing a great responsibility. The communists should be more determined on two important issues: First, the current practice can no longer continue either in the economy or in politics; second, rejection of any restoration ideas.

Istvan Szabo then dealt with some economic issues and spoke briefly about the agricultural sector, which, for a long time, used to be the successful sector of the Hungarian economy. However, this sector regressed in 1987-88. The country definitely needs its agricultural exports, even if the prices are low. Political erosion has reached the Hungarian villages, too. Some people offer us a Western-style production structure, but this cannot be applied in Hungary, nor is it necessary. We should further develop our existing multifaceted production structure and work out greater incentives. Both large scale enterprises and individuals should accept risks.

MSZMP's Andics on Journalistic Practices

LD0712125888 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0545 GMT 7 Dec 88

[Interview with Jeno Andics, head of the MSZMP Central Committee agitation and propaganda department, by correspondent Tamas Forro—date and place not given; live or recorded]

[Text] [Forro] Is it not strange that the day to mark the first publication of VOROS UJSAG is also the holiday of journalists with whom the party nowadays has quite a lot of conflicts, problems?

[Andics] I do not consider it strange. I do not consider it strange because VOROS UJSAG Day, as a press holiday, is a commemoration of the development in Hungary of progressive journalism. Since most journalists represent progressive efforts, I would alter the question: the matter is not one of commemorating VOROS UJSAG with there being conflicts in the meantime, because there are no conflicts with the great majority of Hungarian journalistic society. As for the conflicts which do arise, I do not see them as being political conflicts in which it is absolutely necessary to seek differences in political conviction. If there have been conflicts, and obviously there will be in the future, too, in my view they follow from the fact that not only all of society, but journalistic society as well, is in a state of transition. It seeks a place for itself; it attempts to shape its own style and practice in a changed journalistic system of conditions.

In this, it makes professional mistakes—everyone makes professional mistakes; they do, too. Professional mistakes in tools of great impact result in greater repercussion. A decisive portion of the conflicts stem from this. And time is necessary for this transitional state to be sorted out and for responsible journalism to take shape where journalists are committed to ideals, goals, and society and not to a narrow political direction, and from this, for it to form its own style.

[Forro] I think that there is no need for a destructive press, but there is a need for a press which is constructive and takes us forward—even if this entails conflict.

[Andics] I do not know why you ask this. In my view no one has cast doubt on this during the past months.

[Forro] We nevertheless feel sometimes that if the press has a critical tone, it is very easily treated as if the press is destructive.

[Andics] Look, when I said that it is necessary for a new type of journalistic practice to take shape, I meant that when a journalist does a critical analysis, he should weigh up the social consequences of his critical analysis. I now feel that this is not yet happening in some articles. I might add that I consider it to be a natural process. In the circumstances of a changed journalism it is unavoidable because there are no models of journalistic conduct which could be handed on. Such a genre cannot be learned. However, it must be learned. And it is also necessary to politicize with this criticism not only with regard to political direction, but it is necesary to politicize in society. I believe that when there is criticism of journalistic activity as being of a destructive character, although it is true that this expression has not been voiced recently, I believe that it refers to this pehnomenon, and it would very good if the professional workplaces of journalism, journalistic public life, would help in making this transitional period as short as possible.

[Forro] Has direct direction of the press ceased, or is it being stopped? What is the next step?

[Andics] As regards legislation, the modern information law consistently acknowledges, and rests on, the freedom of speech and press. Every newspaper owner [words indistinct] must say, himself, what arises for him out of this. For me, that is for us, I feel that what emerges is that in the party's press policy, we should genuinely endeavor to build a partnership reationship with journalists, either within the framework of the journalists' association, in other organizational forms, or in the framework of a journalists' chamber if that were to be created. That is—politicians should actively take part in journalistic public life, and journalists should actively take part in political public life—the two merge into one another. In my view, these are the most pressing, impending tasks that must be accomplished.

Walesa Sees Something 'New' in Country

AU0712174988 Paris AFP in English
1742 GMT 7 Dec 88

[Text] Gdansk, Poland, Dec 7 (AFP)—Lech Walesa said Wednesday that ceremonies in Paris marking the 40th anniversary of the signing of the universal declaration of human rights, which he will attend, would serve as a platform for a new call for the defense of those rights everywhere.

The leader of the banned trade union Solidarity, speaking to AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE at his home here, praised French President Francois Mitterrand's initiative to turn the anniversary into a major event, which he said will serve as a forum "to appeal for the respect of fundamental human rights everywhere in the world."

He added that he would be visiting Paris "primarily as a Nobel Peace Prize winner."

Among other guests invted by Mr. Mitterrand will be the 1975 Nobel Peace laureate, Soviet physicist Andrei Sakharov, and Mr. Walesa said he was looking forward to meeting him. "We have a lot to talk about," he said.

Mr. Walesa's two-day visit to Paris this weekend will be his first trip abroad since October 1981, when he made a short trip to France two months before martial law was declared in Poland. He received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1983.

He said his visit would also permit him to express his "profound gratitude to the French people and government" for their support of the Polish people's struggles.

Mr. Walesa, who is 45, will meet with leaders of two French trade union confederations—but not with those of the largest union, the Communist-led General Labor Confederation (CGT), who, he said "forgot us in our years of troubles."

He said he was particularly anxious to meet with Andre Bergeron, leader of Force Ouvriere (FO), and Edmond Maire, of the French Democratic Labor Confederation (CFDT). He also wanted to meet Jack Lang, the French culture minister whom he met in Poland, and the actor Yves Montand.

Mr. Walesa ascribed the fact that the Polish Government authorized his trip to a desire to improve relations with France. "There is no sentimentality in this business," he said. "There's a price to pay to improve relations and this price may include allowing me to leave Poland."

"But I'm just speculating," he added. "I wonder a lot about the government's goodwill toward me."

Asked whether his exit visa was a sign of an improved situation, Mr. Walesa replied: "Something new seems to be happening in the country. The interior minister, General Czeslaw Kiszczak, accepted to talk with me several times. Then I was allowed to speak on live television, and now I am given my passport."

"All this," he continued, "may contribute to the opening of another chapter in the relations between the militants of Solidarity and the government. I hope I'm right."

He said he "couldn't believe" the government had recently called him a "constructive opponent." "It feels pretty funny," he said. "Has the government changed? I haven't changed, anyway. I'm first and foremost an idealist."

He declined to comment directly on rumors that he may be offered a post of deputy minister in the governnment. "Whatever happens, I don't want any privileges," he said. "I'll accept anything—as soon as fundamental liberties are respected in Poland."

He said Prime Minister Mieczyslaw Rakowski "is a big question mark for me. What does he want? But maybe he'll understand some day that Solidarity is an indispensable element of political life in Poland."

On the broader prospects for the country, Mr. Walesa said that a "social explosion" could not be ruled out. "We have to end the Stalinist methods," he said.

"Thousands of people are above the laws: that's Stalinism. We have to end that once and for all. Are we going to get rid of our ills by politics or by violence, evolution or revolution? That's the question Poles ask themselves."

Officials React to Walesa-Miodowicz Debate

AU0712175988 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
5 Dec 88 p 8

[Roundup of statements on Walesa-Miodowicz television debate made to PAP journalists: "A New and Useful Phenomenon"]

[Text] After Wednesday's [30 November] television debate between Alfred Miodowicz and Lech Walesa, which took place on the initiative of the chairman of the OPZZ and has prompted great interest among the public, the following people shared their impressions with PAP journalists:

Prof Mikolaj Kozkiewicz: Despite the controversial character of the views that were expressed and the mutual accusations and suspicions, I think that the program served to defuse the mood of the public and that was its basic merit.

It would have been naive to have expected the two participants to have concluded some kind of agreement during the meeting or that it would in some way be a substitute for a "roundtable." I would like to draw attention to two significant features of the debate: First,

Mr Miodowicz kept to his standpoint, but, at the same time, he did not deny Solidarity supporters the right to decide about the composition of a union at a particular plant by way of elections. Where a Solidarity team is elected, that is the organization that will exist at the plant in de facto terms, although organizationally it will be part of the OPZZ. Although it is true that this compromise proposal had been made earlier, it assumed another kind of importance when it was repeated during the debate. Moreover, although it did not receive any express support, there was also no firm rejection of it.

Mr Walesa also made an important statement to the effect that Solidarity could not be the Solidarity that existed in 1980, that this applied to its substance, its program, and the scope of its activities, and that it would have to be separated from politics. Leaving aside the question of whether this is a realistic view, it does represent a new element. I think that if there were more discussions of this kind, it would be possible to smooth the way for certain views on both sides. I support Mr Walesa's view that this should not be the one and only discussion of this kind and that there should more televised discussion involving him and other members of the opposition. Television should be a forum for the expression of various views. Television is a tool of state policy everywhere, but every state also permits the opposition to use television to communicate its views to society in so far as this does not pose a danger.

However, at this particular moment in history, it does involve a certain danger. Both sides, the government and the opposition, might think that it provides grounds for abandoning the "roundtable." No debate, not even a series of debates, can be a substitute for a "roundtable." The point is that television debates are not an institution, they allow individuals to express their views and, as in this case, they produce no binding formulas for resolving the situation, whereas a "roundtable" should produce solutions that would be binding—once they have been agreed upon—on the government. That is the difference. Second, there are certain very sensitive issues concerning models, institutions, and political matters that should, at least initially, be discussed behind closed doors.

To sum up, it was a useful event, a right move. It was a spectacle, but also an event that has produced a livelier atmosphere in politics, and this is something useful in view of society's indifference toward political issues.

Aleksander Bochenski, author and journalist: I am very surprised that political culture in our country is still of such a low standard that a televised meeting between two outstanding trade unionists from opposing camps is considered an extraordinary event that merits highlighting and discussion in the press. Unfortunately, however, that is the way things are.

A few weeks ago, the outstanding, perhaps the most outstanding, opposition journalist, Stefan Kisielewski wrote in TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY that there are as many as 40 well-known activists among the founders of the Club for International Research that, I quote him literally, he would not be able to sit down at the same table with and would not be able to speak to. So, I must admit that in light of the current rules of political life in Poland, the Walesa-Miodowicz meeting is a new and positive phenomenon. I hope that it represents at least one small step toward normality.

However, I would be acting out of character, if I did not have any complaints to make about what the two speakers had to say. Lech Walesa should have expressed himself more precisely and clearly about what he meant by the term freedom, which he mentioned so often, and why, in response to Walesa's appeal to "stop walking and drive a fast automobile instead," did Alfred Miodowicz not indicate that Rakowski's government does indeed want to speed up the rate at which economic and social reforms are implemented, and that this government was appointed partly as a result of OPZZ pressure.

Adam Zielinski, president of the Supreme Administrative Court: Above all, I do not think that the meeting should be viewed as something extraordinary. Every attempt to seek out extraordinary elements would not only reflect badly on political life in our country, but would also be a bad omen for the future. We should consider an exchange of views on important subjects something quite normal. We should learn to present and defend our views, and we should get accustomed to the fact that people think differently.

Then, I think we should express respect for the way in which the two speakers conducted the debate. Even when there was an opportunity to make some cutting and apt remark—and surely every viewer saw that there were many opportunities to do just that—the participants managed to remain cool and placed the desire to allow the other person to present his arguments above the effectiveness of polemics. Third, it would be very bad if we were to look for something that would enhance existing social divisions in the meeting. Poland was the winner. I hope that with time this will become obvious to everyone.

Father Florian Klewiado, army colonel and chief chaplain for the Polish Armed Forces: I view the meeting from the social angle above all. This is because there is still a lot of mistrust in our society, which is something that stops people from completely committing themselves to working for the good of the fatherland. I think that the television debate between A. Miodowicz and L. Walesa was very important for removing the obstacles that have created an atmosphere of mistrust over many years.

From the point of view of a "roundtable" dialogue, this meeting in front of the television cameras is definitely something that should provide an impetus for the mobilization of all social forces around those changes that have already been started and should make it possible to discuss national issues thoughtfully, calmly, and in concrete terms, while bearing in mind that what matters above all is the well-being of the people and th standing of our people's state.

Perhaps, this event will finally bring us closer to a constructive and open dialogue. On 11 November, at a mass for the fatherland in the garrison church in Warsaw, I mentioned that what we have to do now is less difficult: We have to work well for the fatherland, speak well of the fatherland, and demonstrate this to other nations in daily life. This is because the most difficult things to accomplish were already presented to our fatherland by our forbearers, by our fathers and mothers.

Miners' Day Rally Celebration Reported

Rakowski's Speech

AU0512154088 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 3-4 Dec 88 p 2

[Speech by Premier Rakowski at a ceremony at the Mining Academy of Zabrze on 2 December, to mark Miners Day]

[Text] Esteemed guests! On the eve of Saint Barbara's Day, which is the centuries-old traditional holiday for miners of both hard coal, lignite, copper, and other minerals, I stand here before you full of emotion and full of respect and recognition for your labor. I stand here before you fully aware of the fact that even the most carefully chosen words are not capable of expressing the richness of the experiences which are part and parcel of the lives of miners, particularly of those who go down daily into the depths of our native soil. They go down deeper and deeper, and the costs of extracting valuable raw material are becoming greater and greater.

The job of a miner requires not only strength, physical fitness, and knowledge about coal and about extraction methods, but boldness, too. This is not a job for weaklings. A miner does not go down alone. He is acompanied by his closest family and friends; but more precisely, by their apprehensions and fears as to whether or not he will come back in one piece and healthy and as to whether or not they will hear an ominous announcement about a dangerous collapse, fire, or victims. On your holiday, one therefore has to salute your mothers, wives, sisters, and brothers and express to them one's heartfelt respect and recognition.

It is not a coincidence that shortly after I assumed the post of premier of the Polish Government, I went to Silesia to visit the Miechowice mine. By doing so, I wanted to let the whole community of miners know how much I valued and respected their work and what great importance we attach to this branch of the national economy. Just among ourselves, I will admit to you that after a 2-hour stay down below, all my bones were aching for the next 2 days. And it was with pleasure that after returning to the surface, I drank—perhaps in contravention of the existing regulations—a mug of beer. In this connection—because of the problem of beer or rather because beer has become a problem for the mining fraternity—I decided to present a proposal at the Sejm aimed at amending the law on educating people in sobriety and at regarding beer as a refreshment. I will do this before the month is over, counting on the fact...[changes thought] believing that the House will agree and accept this amendment.

I feel the need to repeat what you have heard more than once: Hard coal and lignite are not only our common, great national treasure; they are a life-giving force. One could say that in order to maintain life on our Polish soil, we need sun, air, water, and coal.

Esteemed citizens and comrades! On this important and festive day, one should, perhaps, restrict oneself to conveying good wishes to the many-thousands-strong army of Polish miners, but I think that you are expecting something more from me. I, too, feel the need to share with you a few matters which are important for Poland, for you, for all our compatriots, and also for me. The state of Polish mining and especially its problems with supplies, employment, and other problems cannot be considered outside the context of the situation which exists in the whole national economy. We continue to have to do battle with the consequences of the economic and social crisis which hit us so painfully at the beginning of the eighties.

The goods produced are still too few to allow us to satisfy the justified expectations and needs of the population. There is also an insufficiency of those means which should be assigned to the development of industry and agriculture, of science and culture. Moreover, the Polish state annually pays more than 1 and ½ billion dollars for the interest on the debts incurred in the West in the seventies. So things are not easy and they won't be either in the next few years if we want to be equal to the challenges brought about by the development of the world and of Europe.

The difficulties with which we are struggling are not the result of some sort of stagnation, of a sort of general lack of resourcefulness. They are, above all, the result of the crisis I mentioned earlier and of Poland's international financial obligations. Poland's economic development in the present decade is unquestionable. Today—far better than a few years ago—we know how to make use of the existing materials and other reserves. There is a growing number of very competent technical workers, engineers, and directors, who show foresight. We are learning to appreciate time and money.

The critics of our economic policy forget that we are achieving this progress in the economy of the eighties without outside reinforcements, with a diminishing workforce, with a shorter week—something, however, which does not apply to the miners. I am defending the economic progress of the eighties because I believe that there is a false view, which cannot be taken seriously but which is being spread by people who are—to say the least—ill-disposed toward us, that for the last 8 years we have been in a state of constant crisis, that we are not moving from our 1980-81 position.

The economic progress of Poland's development is decided, above all, by the human factor and correctly applied economic laws. They are the essence of the economic reform which we have been implementing since January 1982, along with far-reaching changes in social life and in the state's political structures. The Polish United Workers' Party will steadfastly and determinedly follow the road toward the concentration—on the basis of the socioeconomic system's reform—of all the political forces which see the future of Poland in democratic socialism. At the moment, at the tail-end of 1988, we are accelerating the pace of reform. This in no way, however, means that we are ruling out or undermining our achievements so far in the first and second stage of economic reform.

Of course there were mistakes and errors. Who is free of such things? There were delays caused by excessive restraint, perhaps too small a tendency to take risks, and a lack of sufficient courage in eliminating outdated bureaucratic structures. But it would be totally incomprehensible and presumptuous if the present government wished to declare that it was the first to undertake a fundamental reform of the economy and social life. The ground for the current pace was prepared and fertilized in the last 8 years. In no way were these wasted years.

The constant repetition that Poland needs reforms is a misconception. The Poland of the eighties exists and is developing within the current of reforming transformations which has swept over the socialist system. We do not need calls for reform; we need an active participation in its implementation. A reformed Poland needs social peace, social discipline, and the subordination of personal ambitions to national goals.

Esteemed participants! I do not think that I have to widely justify the significance a modern, organized, efficient, and effective mining industry to our economy. Its key position in the Polish economy is and remains indisputable. The necessary restructure of the Polish industry will in no way reduce this position. This obviously does not mean that we will not be demanding high economic efficiency from the mining industry. In mining, as in many other spheres of the national economy, there is still a lot to be done from this point of view. We cannot be satisfied with the results attained.

We expect from mining personnel the highest economic concern at every step. We also expect from it maximum foresight for the social conditions of miners, for the strengthening of both the discipline of the miners, and the principles of democratic coexistence in the mines. The dignity of the working man in socialism is and remains the highest value. Any kind of infringement of it creates explosive material and opens the way to social conflicts which no one needs.

Traditionally, on Saint Barbara's Day, we pay sincere thanks to miners for their diligence, courage, common sense, and responsibility; thankfully this year, there is no shortage of these. There is no shortage of sincere expressions of great gratitude either. Is that enough? I think not. A specific and measurable indication of the highest respect for the miners' labors can only be a program for energy saving which is tenaciousy and consistently implemented in the whole national economy. At present, more than 160 million tonnes of hard coal and 73 million tonnes of lignite are used. That is definitely too much for the industrial potential we possess. It is not the quantity of extracted coal which can and ought to be produced, but the millions of tons of economized coal. We are extravagant in squandering this national treasure. We have grown used to the idea that we have coal in profusion. A considerable reduction in energy, and thus, first of all coal, cannot possibly be achieved by intervention; it also requires investment expenditure. Those kind of outlays, however, are repaid with profit. I would like, esteemed participants, to live to the moment when representatives of individual industrial branches will appear on this rostrum and report on significant quantities of energy saved, of which Polish coal is the basis. Let it happen as soon as possible.

Esteemed comrades and citizens! On behalf of the highest authorities of our state, the leadership of the PZPR and the allied parties and on behalf of Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski, who is present at our ceremony, and on my own behalf, I convey wishes of all possible success combined with words of thanks for your contribution toward the development of the national economy and thus toward improving our national well-being, to the entire miners' milieu and miners' families. [applause]

TU's Moric Address

LD0212210188 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1534 GMT 2 Dec 88

[Speech by Raymond Moric, leader of the Miner's Trade Union Federation, at Zabrze Miner's Day rally—live]

[Excerpts] Esteemed gathering! On behalf of the organizers, I welcome the representatives of the mining workforces which extract all the minerals from our soil. [applause] On your behalf and on my own behalf, I welcome the traditional guests to our ceremony: Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski; first secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party and chairman of the Council of State [applause], I welcome

Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski [applause]; I welcome the central leadership of the party and the political parties; representatives of the government; I welcome the representatives of foreign delegations, and finally, I welcome all of you, who have come to our ceremony. [applause]

Esteemed guests, dear colleagues, representatives of mining workforces! Every year, we meet on the eve of our day to express tradition, tradition and the bonds of a profession which enjoys respect and recognition. [passage omitted]

Basically, the miner does not complain, but swears; he does not ask, he demands; he can't stand sympathy, but wants friendly understanding; and he does not give in to self-pity.

The mining fraternity does not live in the past. We think about what the future holds for us. At the beginning of this decade, not without difficulty, we rebuilt hard coal extraction and we developed the extraction potential of lignite. Despite this, we are threatened by an energy crisis. Copper, zinc, and lead mining have their own problems. The workforces of chemical raw materials mining have economic problems. The far-reaching decapitalization of the oil and gas mining industries is worrying: of opencast quarrying, of drilling, and of geology; this affects working conditions and the effectiveness of that work. The Miners' Trade Union Federation, looking for allies in the state and economic administration, has defended the interests of the mining workforces as far as this was dictated by the principles of justice and the country's financial possibilities. [passage omitted]

We link our prospects and hopes with the reform of the economy and sociopolitical life. I think that the mining industry must have its prospects clearly defined. It must be sure that neither today nor tomorrow it will be left on its own; that the enormous inflationary gap, which in case of sudden need will be difficult to make up, does not threaten the basis of our nation's existence. The miners, like the majority of society, are vitally interested in acting to restore everything which is sick in our economy. [passage omitted]

The miner is by nature a supporter of order, respects the law, and obeys the just authorities. These characteristics are the guarantee of support (?for) the rationalization of actions furthering the consolidation of the institutions of the state and the country's economic development. [passage omitted]

Rakowski Appoints New Agriculture Officials

LD0212064288 Warsaw PAP in English
2141 GMT 1 Dec 88

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 1—Following the motion of the agriculture minister, the prime minister recalled Kazimierz Dunaj from the post of undersecretary of state and government plenipotentiary for development of land reclamation at the Agriculture Ministry in connection with his intended transfer to another job. The premier voiced his appreciation and thanked Dunaj for his hitherto activity.

The prime minister also appointed Andrzej Malinowski new undersecretary of state at the ministry.

At the same time the prime minister assigned Edward Brzostowski to the newly set up office of government plenipotentiary for development of agricultural-industrial organizations and shaping living conditions in the rural areas, recalling him from the to-date function of undersecretary of state at the agriculture ministry.

Andrzej Malinowski, born in 1947, is doctor of economy and specializes in world food market problems. He is member of the Presidium of the Society for Promotion of Economic Initiatives and member of the United Peasants' Party.

Official on 'Progressive' Associations Law

LD0212024688 Warsaw PAP in English
0006 GMT 1 Dec 88

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 30—The draft Law on Associations aroused great interest, and especially its innovatory and progressive solutions proclaiming freedom for citizens to associate which met with social approval.

Most of the proposed solutions were considered right during the social consultation that is nearing its end now. But there are also points of difference, even of controversy, said Undersecretary of State in Poland's Ministery of Internal Affairs General Zbigniew Pudysz to a PAP journalist.

Asked about the questions arousing most controversies in the participants of the consultation Pudysz said in part: The issue of types of associations was much discussed but the opinions expressed so far go in the direction of approving the variant of the existence of only one type. In order to satisfy the organizations particularly merited for society, we would like to suggest granting them an honorary title without, though, any practical privileges.

The procedure to register organizations was also widely discussed, added Zbigniew Pudysz and said that the issues of economic resourcefulness of associations arouse not only interest but fears as well.

During the discussions two approaches to defining associations as voluntary organizations with free access appeared, continued Zbigniew Pudysz. Some of the participants of the consultation claimed that this question should be decided by the association's statute as its fundamental document. But this might lead to closing up of some circles in their own milieu. Therefore others postulated introducing resolutions which would guarantee free access of citizens to chosen associations.

I would like to stress that all amendments, suggestions, doubts and proposals signaled in the consultation will be examined with great care in order to improve the draft law on associations, concluded Pudysz.

Theoretician Views Trends in Marxism

PM0212155688 Gdansk DZIENNIK BALTYCKI in Polish 25 Nov 88 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Dr Andrzej Sobocinski, theoretician of Marxism at the University of Gdansk, by DZIENNIK BALTYCKI correspondent Henryk Nowaczyk; date, place not given; first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] Some months ago, in an article for the ZDANIE monthly, Adam Schaff wrote that unless Marxism wants to become obsolete, it must adapt to the requirements dictated by the contemporary world. It seems somewhat paradoxical that this has to be pointed out to a scientific discipline which cites the law of dialectics as one of its principal tenets.

This question was widely discussed at a recent voivodship ideological conference in Gdansk. Dr Andrzej Sobocinski of Gdansk University was one of the speakers at the conference. The purpose of today's interview with Dr Sobocinski is to take a broader view of this interesting issue and to familiarize our readers with it.

[Nowaczyk] To what extent does Marxism still function as a science? To what extent can it look dispassionately at matters of everyday life or is it capable of fulfilling the role attributed to it by its classic exponents?

[Sobocinski] The whole issue is extremely complex because if we regard Marxism as a method of research then it is attractive not only to researchers hailing from the intellectual left. Movement and contradiction; dynamic development—in short, dialectics—are principles applied by many scientists.

[Nowaczyk] Is Marxism dogmatic and academic? One often has the impression that many people would like to see it classified in that way.

[Sobocinski] If we regard Marxism as a current which must develop methodically as a result of the influx of new data and within the context of new phenomena, processes, and circumstances, then any discussion of the topicality and attractiveness of this scientific discipline appears superfluous.

[Nowaczyk] But practice belies this thesis to a certain extent. After all, Marxism is treated as a collection of slogans or shibboleths to be reiterated ad nauseam. Presented thus, it is hardly surprising that the science of Marxism loses much of its attractiveness, especially to younger people. Unfortunately politicians have also fallen prey to this attitude.

[Sobocinski] Ah well! Politicians have confused several concepts here. We know that ideology is the dominant form, which in turn becomes embodied in the forms of social, political, and other doctrines. Next, we have the programming of the course of operations, and only after that can we speak of practical implementation. Thus if there is no symbiosis between these four concepts or, in other words, if they are mutually irreconcilable, then the natural consequence of such a state of affairs is the emergence of conflicts and discord of the kind we regularly observe in our daily life. In such circumstances Marxism becomes simply a kind of religion. In my opinion none of the countries within our bloc have been able to produce a mutual reconciliation of these concepts. This is also why we are now experiencing such a hangover: We have been unable to determine unequivocally whether Marxism is a dynamic or a static system; whether it has proved feasible or not; and, if the latter is true, whether we should not consign it, with all due respect, to the lumber-room of history...

[Nowaczyk] ...and to consider carefully whether it has not become a convenient tool for the apparatus of power.

[Sobocinski] So far we can speak of Marxism's proving its feasibility according to the 'a contrario' principle, that is, by negative application.

[Nowaczyk] I think we are also faced with another pattern: People who were originally fascinated by Marxism have subsequently changed their positions, often joining the ranks of the fiercest critics of that ideological system. The first Polish Marxist, Abramowski, eventually preached the principles of self-government. Then came Kolakowski, then Leszek Nowak....

[Sobocinski] These people are true heirs of our Polish traditions and our Polish sociopolitical conditions. We must remember that, strictly speaking, we have never had real capitalism in our country....

[Nowaczyk] Our neighbors managed to perform an even bigger leap.

[Sobocinski] Precisely.

[Nowaczyk] But Abramowski's theses are topical for us today. Both our legislative system and our practice are at present moving closer toward their application.

[Sobocinski] It should be said that this was precisely the proposed direction of our development as advocated by Polish socialists immediately after the war—for how could we have launched the development of the major industries if we had virtually no small-scale industry of which to speak? Considering our circumstances, time has proved them right. Time has also proved Wladyslaw Gomulka right. Gomulka was also heir to our Polish traditions and he understood our realities very well. But in 1948 he was "sent off" and victory went to the monocentric theory, as it is called today: A theory which

is by its very nature irrational and particularly ill-suited to be adopted under Polish conditions. The Russians today apply the term "barracks socialism" to the Stalinist system. It could only be sustained by means of absolute terror and the wholesale incapacitation of the entire society. One can hardly quarrel with the thesis that by the very nature of things that particular model—developing as it did in a social vacuum—inevitably had to turn against itself. Leszek Nowak points this thesis up as follows: "In its political dimension, Stalinism thus exposes the extreme situation of the political power which, having rid itself of all controlling influences, will eventually reach the ultimate in technical regulation before being forced to turn against itself."

We have here a fairly accurate assessment of both the sources of our crises and the reason for the present stagnation in the Marxist science.

[Nowaczyk] This is why, to tell you the truth, I would not risk asserting that Marxism has ever found practical application on Polish ground.

[Sobocinski] Indeed, it has not been verified in Polish conditions. Consequently, if we are to debate the question whether or not it is a valid model, we should first put it in into practice, and only verify and assess it afterward. The very interesting debate on the subject initiated by representatives of Poland's left in the years 1945-48 was cut short in an unwarranted and, we would add, brutal manner. Later, even when it became possible to discuss these things openly without fear of having to pay for it with your life, the debate was only taken up here and there, intermittently. But it is high time now to look at the whole issue in general terms and to invite a body of theoreticians—of whom, happily, we have plenty—to decide what we can use now and what we can put aside to be used later. We now know what we certainly must not do. A wide-ranging and incisive debate on the subject is also taking place outside Poland. The time has come to map out new goals and new tasks for the future.

[Nowaczyk] But many Marxists are still busy licking their wounds, while others nurse their complexes, and still others have no energy left whatsoever.... "Powerful bureaucratic structures are still in operation; the system of social—that is, public—control over all state institutions shows many glaring inadequacies; the electoral systems require fundamental changes; the state's position on various forms of ownership has not been made sufficiently clear; and practice shows that private economic undertakings are often regarded with suspicion...." I did not write these words: Mieczyslaw Rakowski did so a short while ago. So what should we offer our theoreticians: a dose of stimulants or, perhaps, a cold compress on the head?

[Sobocinski] It is regrettable that the debate on the acceptable model of socialism was, as I have already said, cut short in 1948, just when it seemed that we were about to find our own viable formula for a "Polish road to socialism."

[Nowaczyk] Does this imply that the merger of the Polish Socialist Party [PPS] and the Polish Workers Party [PPR] was premature?

[Sobocinski] I think that it would have been better if the unification congress had taken place several years later, and things would definitely have become quite acceptable if Stalinism had, for example, taken root in America. I believe that the merger of the PPS and the PPR was a correct move. The problem lies not in whether we have one party or two but in the quality of the party as such, the mechanisms that govern it, and the mechanisms that regulate it.

[Nowaczyk] Well, today we have a party that is getting older and remains a workers' party only in name. During the latest voivodship ideological conference we heard many critical remarks aimed at the party. To give you an example, in our political and legislative systems the working class is accorded many rights and is subject to many obligations. But I have never come across a modern definition of the working class.

[Sobocinski] This means that we have a situation in which the term is abused for manipulative purposes. I believe that we should adopt the French definition of the working class. It is based on the principle that anyone who performs hired labor is a proletarian. In my opinion, it really is high time we decided to consider the working class in rational terms.

[Nowaczyk] Today we can observe what is certainly a new phenomenon. The tremendous, unprecedented surge in the civilizational development of mankind has generated new and equally unprecedented social relations. Processes which now take a mere decade used to, until quite recently, require hundreds of years to develop.

[Sobocinski] The ruling party must realize this first and foremost, and it must alter and modify its style and its mode of operation. It is counterproductive to hide behind lifeless stage decorations because life goes on very fast and it will ever faster claim its rights and correct anomalies. Who will be the loser then? The party on the one hand and the ideology on the other. And even if the party can still engage in sophistry and parlor games, the ideology cannot do so without tarnishing its reputation.

[Nowaczyk] One does not need to be a social cybernetician to identify the directions in which modern societies are developing: modern societies based on the exchange, gathering, and processing of information. To find one's way in this modern labyrinth one needs to cultivate such virtues as a sense of identity, civil courage and responsibility and a constant striving toward self-improvement. Consequently, we now tend to have less and less to do with society as a corporate entity and more with the human being as an individual.

[Sobocinski] Marxism ought to remain costantly abreast of these processes. If, on the other hand, it is constrained by elaborate strictures, trained to hide behind facades, and taught subservience, it will naturally run into trouble. Paradoxically, these problems tend to occur in countries which have opted for the socialist way of development, whereas in the West things are much better: In fact, we can probably safely say that there are no problems at all there.

[Nowaczyk] But in its resolutions the party has repeatedly stressed the need to deepen ideological knowledge and awareness.

[Sobocinski] Words must be followed by deeds. Perhaps the approaching Third National Theoretical and Ideological Conference will help change something in this matter. So far we are still dealing with the vestiges of barracks Marxism, judging from the continuing successful application of the discipline of "quotationology."

[Nowaczyk] Are we afraid of the truth?

[Sobocinski] There is something in this, but we must remember that development means conflicting opinions and an analysis of other people's arguments beside your own. In other words, a vast, extensive pluralism of thought. And it is about time Marxism became a promoter of such broad and unrestrained intellectual pluralism. Polish science has lost much of its vigor through its submissiveness toward the authorities. Its authority has also suffered as a result. No science should be submissive toward the authorities; all sciences ought to serve society instead of any particular team in power.

[Nowaczyk] The Marxist science has more and more competition these days....

[Sobocinski] Free exchange of thought has never done any harm to anyone and strong arguments are the best methods of proving the validity of your views. I personally think Marxism will not lose by it. After all, the history of our civilization teaches us that all its best achievements rose out of conflict and discord, provided that one thing was not overlooked: the fact that the human individual represents the supreme good.

Orzechowski Participates in TV Discussion

LD0512230088 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 2100 GMT 1 Dec 88

[Discussion program entitled "Yes, but..." with Professor Marian Orzechowski, PZPR Central Committee secretary and Politburo member; Dr Piotr Andrzejewski, not further identified; Dr Krzysztof Galat, not further identified; and Marek Krol, deputy editor in chief of the weekly WPROST; monitored from poor reception, monitors are unable to distinguish between voices other than Orzechowski]

[Excerpts] [Unidentified speaker] Professor could we come to an agreement that there won't be any taboo subjects.

[Unidentified speaker] There is talk of reforming the state and economy, a presidential system, a second Sejm chamber, the introduction of an opposition in the Sejm, new economic laws, a law which is finally supposed to (?fashion) the market. The question that arises above all is how does the PZPR fit into this.

[Orzechowski] A very fundamental question. Reform within the party itself is necessary so that it can effectively lead the reform in the state and the economy, a reform which incidentally was begun in Poland on the party's initiative. But reform is not only a postulate of the party—it has been going on strictly speaking since the ninth congress through successive stages. Today it is predominantly a question of accelerating it, and if one could put it like that, take it to a logical conclusion.

That cannot be decreed. I would only like to say one thing—we're talking about reform in the party, about transformnations, but it continues to revolve around one echelon—the Central Committee. While the Central Committee can create certain incentives, above all it ought to generalize the experiences already being gathered at the grassroots. In other words, party reform cannot be an issue or a work of the Central Committee and even less so of the Politburo. It can only be the work of the Central Committee and even less so of the Politburo. It can only be the work of the whole party. Then it really will be effective and permanent; then it will find aproval among the mass membership of the party. Otherwise nothing will come of it.

[Unidentified speaker] Up until now the party has been regarded by the public as the guardian of the holy flame, without which there were no dogmas and principles.

In recent months and in recent years, the party has been a moderator of these changes, of how to change the model of the party's functioning.

[Orzechowski] Changes in the party are probably considerably wider and concern above all the party's very place in social life. It is a question of the party being noticed by the public as a driving force for transformations, that it manages these transformations which it proposes, which it is programming, to gain public trust, because public confidence is in turn the fundamental condition for effectiveness. After all the party itself doesn't carry through reforms, it has to be supported by the cooperation, by the activity, by the public themselves. And thus public confidence, openness toward society is the first determinant of these transformations in the party. The second determinant is perceiving the role of the party itself in public life. Is it to do everything or is it to fulfill the role of the party itself in public life? Is it to do everything or is it to fulfill the role of a kind of super-office, super-government, super-legislature? Or is it to be an ideological and political force marking out the direction of transformations, defining their far-reaching goals, strategic goals and, in fact, concentrating society—the masses—on implementing those transformations?

Finally, the third determinant of those party transformations is internal life; the relations between democracy and centralism, the forms of action, the planes of action. Those which exist at present were shaped decades ago. [passage omitted]

[Unidentified speaker] The role of the party in our society today has been defined in our weekly by [name indistinct] as three "O" 's: omnipresent, omniresponsible and omnicontrolling.

[Orzechowski] That is perhaps an exaggerated formula. Everybody who looks at what is happening around him and in the whole country cannot probably say categorically that these three "O" 's, which you mentioned, define the function and the role of the party. (?But I would say) something else: The party consciously renoucnes such formulae—omnipresence, omnicontrol omniresponsibility—(renounces) the monopoly on wisdom, the monopoly on decisionmaking and the monopoly on cadre decisions.

[Unidentified speaker] At every level?

[Unidentified speaker] Excuse me, Professor, but you didn't define here a model for certain party actions or alternative models. What model would you be in favor of?

[Orzechowski] Well, I am the one I have been talking about all along here; against the three "O" 's, against monopoly. When I talk about a monopoly, that doesn't mean I renounce the human [word indistinct] force defining the direction of our development and at the same time defining the fundamental approaches to the goal; concentrating society, the working class, the working people on implementing these goals; and the ideological and political force and therefore, not managing, not administering, not running (things).

[Unidentified speaker] In the fifties, Wladyslaw Gomulka once said that there are two illnesses which threaten the party: the common cold and influenza. He compared the phenomenon of dogmatism and the phenomenon of revisionism to these illnesses; as far as I know, Wladyslaw Gomulka always thought that influenza was more dangerous [words indistinct]. Observing our history, however, one can't be sure whether that chronic cold won't turn out to be more dangerous after all.

[Orzechowski] When a certain epoch is receding into the past and the new one has still not been formed and has not been born, doubts, questions, extreme perplexities, even views arise and the worst thing would be to label something dogatism and something else revisionism, say that is dangerous and that isn't so dangerous and say that we shall fight this doggedly and this we shall tolerate. I think, however, that today the most dangerous and threatening thing is ossification, conservatism, the unwillingness to change, the unwillingness to read the warnings coming in from our associates, from society, from the community, from the whole world. The belief or policy, that what existed yesterday, what has passed, was very good and should be maintained...

[Unidentified speaker, interrupting] (?We're moving away from that)

[Orzechowski] Yes, but flu...

[Unidentified speaker, interrupting] Professor, I, in my conscious life, which I must admit has not been such a long one, remember several anti-revisionist campaigns, however, I don't remember

[?Orzechowski] Anti-dogmatic...

[Unidentified speaker] Anti-dogmatic.

[Orzechowski] Yes, but all the time you're talking about the past and I'm talking about what's happening now, about the conclusions which we draw from the past. And of course we see that what has been most damaging to us since the ninth congress is precisely ossification, conservatism, and aversion to change, the maintaining of accepted patterns, or if you like, dogmatism. And this after all is what we're talking about today. That is what we should be removing, what we should be overcoming, only the manner of overcoming, the manner in which it is removed must be, I would say, also rational not by sticking on labels, but by explaining its sources, whence it came, what results it has for our life and for the party's life, and how to release ourselves from it. [passage omitted]

[Orzechowski] Gentlemen, do you believe that the party's views and leadership are monolithic?

[Unidentified speaker] No, no, but public opinion...

[Orzechowski] I carefully read TRYBUNA LUDU. And I also read POLITYKA carefully. Just look at the wide range of views there on very fundamental matters. I think you are talking about something else—about programs, about leadership teams, in a nutshell, the Politburo. What purpose is the party meant to serve? The party is a team of people which wants to be active, which wants to change things, not discuss things. To be effective one should stick to one program accepted by everyone or by the decisive majority. Thus one cannot act according to various alternative programs. When you speak of these programs you probably have in mind how to get to an accepted...[unidentified speakers try to interrupt]

I am in favor of various programs, various solutions being discussed and presented in the same team, the same body—by the way, such discussions are always in progress. But it is true that we have not found a way of showing this yet, or of presenting this or of bringing this closer to party members. I am in favor, indeed, of seeing

things this way; in other words I am in favor of policy discussion, of looking for the best solution or of alternative solutions during discussion, of presenting various leaders' views during the course of discussion and of very homogenous, efficient, effective, and decisive action once the program has been (?adopted).

[Unidentified speaker, interrupting] Professor, perhaps in that case we shall live to see the day when a secretary of the Central Committee—Professor Marian Orzechowski, perhaps—conducts an argument with another member of the Politburo during a party discussion in front of, let us say, a plenum or the next party congress. This would be a discussion using various arguments.

[Orzechowski] I cannot see anything bad in this. Just the opposite—I hope that this is how things will be. After all, this is how things have been in the history of our movement—both in our movement in Poland and in the international workers' movement. Let us take, for instance, the activity of the Boslhevik party, the communist party in Soviet Russia in Lenin's time.

[Unidentified speakers] Yes, yes.

[Orzechowski] Arguments were tossed at Lenin, Lenin tossed back his own arguments. It was not considered that what Lenin said was sacred, inviolable, and not subject to discussion—that this was a canon or dogma. There is nothing wrong in that. We have to get used to that.

[Unidentified speaker] In our country such discussions take place during periods of crisis. But as soon as the situation returns to normal then there is a return of the picture of the party as a monolithic structure where all discussion, to all intents and purposes, is below the surface and all decisions are correct. Thus in theory virtually everyone acknowledges the need for far-reaching discussion (?with open doors).

[Orzechowski, interrupting] Let me tell you one thing. Despite the fact that you are much, much younger than I you return to the past and are afraid that this will be repeated. And I, who am somewhat older than you, nevertheless, think of the future and I am convinced that this will not be repeated. It cost us too much. It will not happen and it should not happen that, because of a crisis, we talk about errors and promise improvement etc, and then, with the passage of time, begin to return to old ruts. The cost of that lesson was too high for a return...

[Unidentified speaker] But who (?would)...

[Orzechowski, interrupting] For this reason I think that what we are talking about will become reality and is becoming reality. Look, today...some time ago, the party leader, the first secretary, meant portraits, the whole front, [word indistinct]...

[Unidentified speaker, interrupting] [passage indistinct]

[Orzechowski)...Yes, at the same time it meant infallibility, words being treated as something sacred. We have not had it for a long time, to a much greater degree here than elsewhere. One should also see this. This is changing and certain things have happened and there certainly will be no return. This is happening with difficulties, not as fast as we would like it perhaps, but one must see it [words indistinct]. [passage omitted]

[Unidentified speaker] Do you think the party is in need of some kind of shock treatment?

[Orzechowski] What do you have in mind when you say shock treatment?

[Unidentified speaker] The Hungarians dissolved ...

[Unidentified speaker, interrupting] The Hungarians dissolved the party, for example, and created a new one...

[Unidentified speaker, interrupting] Of course totally incomparable conditions...

[Unidentified speaker, interrupting] Look at history...

[Orzechowski, interrupting] Please remember that that was only the 10th year after the formation of the people's government. That party fell apart, and that is significant, because it did not withstand the pressure of events. Its dissolution at the end of 1956, December I recall, was just a formal act by the end or the beginning of November. We withstood that greatest test and, thus I cannot see any rational reason for this discussion. I would look for other types of shock treatment, for example, [word indistinct] fresh blood in the party, to all the directing echelons, and a clear opening up to young people, a clearer opening up on matters vital to the whole of society, the opening up of channels of discussions, of arguments, of opposing views within the party, the search for new forms of activity. We have methods of consultation and discussion. They have had their day, new ways must be sought.

[Unidentified speaker] Professor, don't you think that the comfort of governing without an opposition is an ostensible comfort?

[Orzechowski] I generally don't believe in comfort in governing. I can say from my own experience that I have never felt any comfort because I was in those structures of authority. It is a serious responsibility, and that is how one should think. Opposition—one has to say what purpose it is to serve.

[Unidentified speaker] If only an exchange of thoughts...

[Orzechoswki] What kind of opposition, how should it be understood, how is that opposition to be understood. If we are thinking about opposition, which precisely is

favorable to the effectiveness of our action, which contributes to the effectiveness of the realization of the program, contributes to the reevaluation of mistakes and inconsistencies, well, precisely...

[Unidentified speaker, interrupting] Controlling the work...

[Orzechowski] Naturally, yes. It can take various forms about which we have spoken. That is for the party, and probably for every authority, the most important element of that public control [words indistinct] the awareness that somebody is watching, somebody is observing, somebody is taking note of it and is able to point it out, say it, and show that it can be done differently.

[Unidenfitied speaker] Isn't the coalition system of exerting power in Poland comfortable for the authorities? (?The Constitution provides for) a coalition of three parties, but the party has a majority in parliament of 55 percent, I think, of the votes and the coalition parties are not actually needed to get party policy through, for even if they did not agree, the program would get through.

[Orzechoswki] Yes, but such a situation has not occurred, (?as far back) as I can remember. So, on the one hand, there is the comfort of a majority, but on the other hand, practically speaking, everything that happens, happens on the basis of a consensus [word indistinct]. And if we acccept that our partners have more and more realistic aspirations and that's a good thing, (? regarding) their independence [podmiotowosc] to put forward alternative solutions, this numerical majority in itself, in the parliamentary composition which exists at the moment, is a fairly formal one.

[Unidentified speaker] But those same partners also say that it would be a good thing if those three parties taken together had a majority in parliament.

[Orzechowski] But they have one.

[Unidentified speaker] That is to say, taken together they should simply have 51 percent—taken together.

[Orzechoswki] There are no tabco subjects, as we said. This is also an issue open to disscusion, to be resolved; and i.a. the issue of the round table, about which we haven't spoken here; the issue of the opposition, of opposition is going in the direction of finding the rules of the game, of the legislative game, too.

[Unidentified speaker] You said that it is also the party's aim to get young people into the party; but several days ago, you used the expression that socialism or socialist ideas, (?these) ideas are, so to speak, on the defensive; that Marxism is not very modern. How can this be reconciled? How can young people...

[Unidentified speaker, interrupting] The specter of conservatism is circling over Europe...

[Unidentified speaker, interrupting] The specter was even in Poland recently—Mrs Thatcher (?visited).

[Orzechowski] Gentlemen, gentlemen...

[Unidentified speaker] On the other hand, public opinion polls, particularly among young people, have for 2-3 years been showing that interest in Polish socialism has been dropping among young people.

[Orzechowski] It is worth (?putting) these questions here [word indistinct]? Firstly, not only is the specter of Thatcherism circling around in Europe. (?You saw) its presence in Poland; but the specter [widmo] of perestroyka is also circulating. I am not so sure whether this second specter of perestroyka, glasnost, whether it has wider implications, and for civilization measure is more important. [sentence as heard] Perestroyka, in short, is turning socialism toward the future, toward the call of civilization. This is a great reform and a great renewal of socialism so that it can cope with the tasks of today and tomorrow.

It applies equally to renewing Marxism so that it does not analyze the past and the composition of capitalism but is open to the problems of the future, national, global, and regional. If it will be so, if the values of socialism which are not rejected by youth, which they approve, and do not link them with socialism, if we give them new dimension, new shape, if youth could see that these are not only words and statements but that there are actions and deeds behind them, they would like to participate. If they could see a chance, a chance for resolving their problems, most essential problems like apartments, interesting work, prospects of societal advancement, even including wider issues concerning the entire nation, state, Europe and [words indistinct].

There are many examples in our country showing that this is possible. We are often contaminated with the prospect of looking at the entire country, prospects of Warsaw, prospects of great urban agglomerations, but in many places in our country very interesting things are happening, important things, in which youth participate in resolving [words indistinct].

The Sejm will discuss, or is discussing, a law on enterprise, that is in reality a revolution. It opens up colossal opportunities, gives space for initiative and enterprise and for revolutionizing our ecnomic life and creates completely new prospects. I think that the sooner we realize this the faster the barrier will be overcome.

[Unidentified speaker] I am sure that the party leadership and authorities are becoming somewhat tired, as well as the community, of seeking some point of reference, some turning point. Questions constantly appear: Will it happen next year, or in 2 years' time, or in 3 years' time? How does one plan one's life for the immediate future, considering inflation and constant alterations?

One cannot live in a situation of constant change—when the furniture is being constantly moved around. People want some static points of reference in ife.

[Orzechowski] At present we are approaching a qualitative breakthrough. I cannot say whether it will happen in a year or 2, but I can say that it will happen in the very near future. It is a difficult period because passing such a breakthrough point, a threshhold, is extremely difficult, but beyond this a straighter road starts, a more even and stable road. And, perhaps, all of us feel that we are approaching such a moment. If the programmes which are now being (?proposed) and implemented in the economic sphere, and also in the sphere of the system, are consistently implemented, that means of course that we will approach a visible breakthrough at a fast pace.

Baka Criticizes Economic Consolidation Plan

AU0512115188 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 Nov 88 p 2

[PAP report: "The National Economic Consolidation Plan Ought To Conform to Society's Expectations More Closely "—Statement by Wladyslaw Baka"]

[Text] Following Tuesday's Politburo session, Wladyslaw Baka, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, met with PAP correspondents and radio and television reporters in order to answer questions raised by the latest controversies surrounding the national economic consolidation plan.

W. Baka said that the party had completed its involvement in the plan by adopting, on 18 October, the plan provisions which serve as guidelines for those PZPR members in the government and Sejm who are working on the plan. The government draft is ready. It was presented at the Monday session of the Central Committee Economic Policy, Economic Reform, and Workers Self-Management Committee, and at the Tuesday Politburo session. The Politburo indicated many justified points, but also expressed a lot of criticism.

The present government draft version of the plan, W. Baka said, does not take fully into account such objectives as combatting inflation and improving market supplies. And yet the Eighth Central Committee said that these are priorities, with which most of society is bound to agree. This remark was noted by the government representatives present at the Politburo session.

The second problem is the plan's scope. Consolidation does not just mean the passing of new acts and adoption of new systemic solutions. It also means steering entire economic policy in the right direction and concentrating on the matters that are most important for citizens, chiefly the state of the market. We have said that the present version of the plan lacks a cohesive concept of transferring resources in the form of raw materials, machines, and so on, to the most important spheres, so that positive results can be achieved in these spheres as quickly as possible. Therefore, what is needed is a thorough revision of the investments program.

Third, we examined the instruments contained in the plan. The government is correct to call for an expansion of private enterprise, which is in accordance with the party's wishes. Freedom in undertaking economic activity in every sector may bring very good results. In order for this to happen, however, the economic system must encourage output, not speculation and the creation of fortunes at one end of the scale and poverty at the other. Taking this into account, we indicated the need for the kind of economic parameters that would guide people's initiative in the right direction.

The government draft also fails to say what effect the proposed solutions will have on economic equilibrium, the state of the market, and the financial situation of people, especially the poorest. The government was asked to supply this information.

This criticism was received with understanding, W. Baka said. One might ask why we are criticizing. Let me remind you of what Wojciech Jaruzelski said at the Eighth Plenum. He said: 'The PZPR is not going to issue the government with an insurance policy,' but he also said that the party would not tread on the government's heels. We believe that an energetic government needs to know the honest truth, so that its activity may be based on correct principles and proper solutions. If we see that our line of action is under threat, we cannot adopt an attitude of false solidarity and conceal this threat from society. We believe that openness, truth, and honesty must form the basis of the new relations between the party leadership and the government. This lies in everyone's interests.

If everyone reads in tomorrow's press that this or that has been criticized, I do not think they will view it as a dispute between the party and the government, but as the beginning of a new era of relationships between them. Though somewhat delayed, this era is becoming part of everyday politics.

Party Commission Raps Economic Plan

AU0512141388 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 Nov 88 p 2

[PAP report: "The National Economic Consolidation Plan Should Conform to Society's Expectations More Closely"—Stance by a PZPR Central Committee Commission"]

[Text] The PZPR Central Committee Economic Policy, Economic Reform, and Workers Self-Management Commission has released a stance on the subject of the government draft national economic consolidation plan. The stance reads:

1. The Eighth Central Committee Plenum regarded it essential to prepare a national economic consolidation plan containing clear guidelines for economic policy in 1989 and 1990. The Central Committee established the following objectives for this plan: Improving the standard of living, eradicating the causes of inflation, regaining market equilibrium, and strengthening the zloty. At the same time, the Central Committee made it clear that special priority should be accorded to the development of agriculture and the food industry, housing construction, and environmental protection. These objectives and priorities meet society's expectations halfway. They were explained in the "Provisions of the National Economic Consolidation Plan" which the Politburo adopted on 18 October. The strategic line of party economic policy contained in these "Provisions" has also been approved by society.

2. The Commission has analyzed the draft plan and found answers to the following key questions:

—Is present activity oriented toward the attainment of these objectives?
—Does the plan explain economic policy with sufficient clarity?
—How is the market to be balanced, and how is inflation to be reduced?
—Do the plan's objectives and the ways of attaining them have any chance of social support, and is their attainment feasible?

3. The Commission concludes that the draft plan contains many correct and well-formulated proposals which refer to activity already undertaken by the government. This applies in particular to the encouragement of economic initiative; the strengthening of market mechanisms; the creation of capital, foreign currency, and labor markets; the curtailment of rationing; a cut in trade restrictions; a lifting of monopolies and closure of inefficient plants; and the development of cooperation with CEMA and the promotion of exports.

The Commission approves the plan's proposals on how to increase the economic energy of all economic units and citizens. However, a noble aim to expand enterprise can degenerate into speculation when there are no possibilities of transferring resources and when economic mechanisms fail to boost economic energy and bring about an increase in goods and services.

4. The Commission noted with concern that the plan gives undue superficial treatment to such important socioeconomic objectives as improving market supplies, curbing inflation, and preventing a further drop in the zloty's purchasing power. This is causing justified fears that society will lose its confidence in the accelerated process of economic reform. The Commission believes that only a harsh and consistent economic policy, one that fights inflation, is the answer to working people's demands; it is the only answer to the need to halt the erosion of economic ties and balance out the market. The hopes vested in the new economic policy inspired by the party cannot be frustrated. The national economic consolidation plan must define a clear way to overcome the present negative trends.

5. The greatest doubts are raised by the prices and incomes policy contained in the plan. This clashes with the Eighth Central Committee Plenum resolution and the "Provisions of the National Economy Consolidation Plan." More important, however, is that they do not correspond to society's expectations.

Instead of the general alteration to prices and incomes policy called for in the plenum resolution, the draft plan calls for a continuation of the present pro-inflationary policy. The draft does not reject principles that have failed in practice, such as wage principles in the material sphere and the practice of linking wages to the cost of living index. The Commission also regards it essential to forecast price and incomes increases and the effects thereof in 1989 and 1990 before any final decisions are made in this sphere.

6. To summarize, the Commission believes that the present shape of the "National Economy Consolidation Plan for 1989-90" still does not provide a sufficiently cohesive and comprehensible new economic policy. The Commission suggests further work on the draft, so that it meets a maximum extent social expectations and the challenges facing the Polish economy.

Rakowski at Science, Education Council Meeting

AU0612113488 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 2 Dec 88 p 2

[PAP report: "The New Main Council for Science and Higher Education: Greater Autonomy for Colleges"]

[Text] The new members of the Main Council for Science and Higher Education began their work on 1 December. At an official ceremony at the Office of the Council of Ministers, Premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski presented appointment certificates to the members of the council, who had been chosen by their colleges.

During the fifth term of office, the academic community will be represented by 75 specialists from all over the country who will take part in making important decisions affecting science and higher education. M. F. Rakowski drew attention to this while congratulating the newly elected members of the main council. He said: "Today, everyone realizes what a great role science has to play in the development of the country in an economic, as well as a social and political sense. No government leadership can do without representatives of this community. We are aware of the shortcomings being experienced by Polish science, especially those of a material kind. The position of intellectuals in our society has also been eroded. However, I assure you that we will do whatever we can to improve this unsatisfactory state of affairs. The Polish economy needs an active society

above all. Bearing in mind science, culture, and the arts, we want faster progress, because at present we are moving forward too slowly. There are enormous reserves in the national economy and in people's minds. We have not always managed to make appropriate use of them, but we will seek to change this. I do not subscribe to the view that Poland has no achievements to its credit and that it has not moved on. That is not true. We have achieved a great deal. We are counting on the greater involvement of people connected with science, culture, and the arts and their cooperation with the government."

There was much discussion about the new tasks of the main council for this term of office. Attention was drawn to the need to improve working conditions and the atmosphere in colleges, which is something that the council, being an interdisciplinary group of experts, can contribute to.

The Main Council for Science and Higher Education held an inaugural meeting for the third term of office in Warsaw on 1 December. Prof Klemens Bialecki of the Main School of Planning and Statistics in Warsaw was re-elected chairman of the council.

Plans for the council's work in the near future were discussed. Jacek Fisiak, minister of national education, spoke during the meeting. He stressed that there are many areas and directions of activity that the education ministry intends to take up in the near future and that this will require the opinions of the council. He added: "I see a need in higher education for both long-range and immediate changes that will rectify the current state of affairs. In the longer term, that is, over the next 2 to 3 years, these changes will include the drawing up of a new law on higher education, which must provide a new model of higher education that is suited to the needs of modern teaching, research, and to the needs of a reformed society and state."

J. Fisiak said: "I would like to use my powers to transfer a whole series of decisions that have until now been reserved for the education minister to college rectors. The purpose of this is to increase college autonomy within the framework of current legislation. I think that the most important thing in this respect is to transfer to colleges certain rights connected with drawing up plans and determining the content of teaching programs. I think that it would be appropriate if some of the first changes in this area were to affect the so-called sociopolitical subjects and the teaching of foreign languages. The research function of colleges should also be strengthened. This is something that will be promoted by, among other things, the expansion of partner-like cooperation with foreign partners."

GNA Hears Speeches, Adopts Plans for 1989

Defense Minister Milea Speaks

AU0712205288 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 2 Dec 88 p 6

[Report on "Speech by Deputy Vasile Milea," candidate member of the PEC of the RCP Central Committee, at the eighth session of the ninth legislature of the Grand National Assembly, on 1 December in Bucharest]

[Text] Much esteemed and beloved Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, much esteemed Comrade Elena Ceausescu, esteemed comrade deputies: The brilliant speech delivered by you, much esteemed Comrade Secretary General, to the joint session of the plenary meeting of the RCP Central Committee and to the other democratic bodies and mass and civic organizations represents a political document with profound patriotic significance, which brings together in an impressive and moving summation the glorious epos of the struggle waged by our people for the right to live freely and in unity in the ancient hearth, the struggle crowned 70 years ago through the founding of the united Romanian national state.

On the anniversary of this great event, we are filled with feelings of profound patriotic pride because the aspirations, hopes, and ideals of our forefathers, who fought for national and social liberation, for justice and freedom, and who attained the great union 70 years ago, have come true in the years of socialism, in the glorious period that was inaugurated by the Ninth RCP Congress, since the destinies of our nation have been led by you, much esteemed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the most beloved son of our nation, who, for more than 5 and a ½ decades have devoted your unequaled revolutionary life to tireless service, with self-denial, and boundless devotion to the progress of the Romanian people, in complete freedom and independence, and to the triumph of the cause of socialism on the soil of our forefathers.

Considering defense issues as part and parcel of socialist construction— the speaker further said— together with defining the strategy of our country's socioeconomic development, you have elaborated and worked out a new military doctrine and have laid the foundation of a new national defense system, starting from the revolutionary concept that guarding the integrity and independence of our homeland is the duty of our whole nation.

Thanks to your constant care, Romania today has a strong, modern, well-prepared, and educated Army, which is consciously serving the supreme interests of the country and on which our country can always rely.

This is why, together with all our nation, the soldiers of the country surround you with profound love and boundless devotion and are ready to carry out with self-denial your orders and their mission ensure the prosperity and defense of our homeland. We report to you, Comrade Secretary General that, working with determination—as you have asked us at the National Conference—our Armed Forces have fulfilled the major objectives stipulated in the directives on the military and political training in the current period.

In obtaining all these results, we have benefited by the changes that occurred through the impressive development of education, science, and culture, and by the fruit of our national scientific research. On this occasion, we also express our profound gratitude to Comrade Academician Doctor Engineer Elena Ceausescu, eminent political leader and scientist of world renown, who, with great competence, is managing fields of vital importance for the progress of our society.

Inspired by the truth you have frequently stressed, that the defensive power of the country rests primarily with its economic power, scores of thousands of soldiers, shoulder to shoulder with the working people, are participating with enthusiasm in the huge effort of socialist construction.

Aware of the important responsibility incumbent on our Armed Forces that is stipulated in the uniform national plan for 1989, our soldiers will honorably fulfill their duty in the field of developing the energy base, expanding irrigated lands, and in building the new Bucharest-Danube waterway, as well as establishing other priority objectives, wherever our homeland needs them.

We assure you, much esteemed Comrade Secretary General, president of the republic, and supreme commander of our Armed Forces, that, aware of our great responsibilities, the Army will be thoroughly prepared and always ready, together with the people, at the call of the homeland or at your order, to fulfill its role to defend the independence of our country and the cause of socialism, to participate in socioeconomic development, and to increase the glory and greatness of Socialist Romania.

Deputy Dinca Addresses Group

AU0712195488 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 2 Dec 88 p 5

[Report on the "Speech by Deputy Ion Dinca," member of the PEC of the RCP Central Committee, at the eighth session of the ninth legislature of the Grand National Assembly, on 1 December in Bucharest]

[Text] Much esteemed and beloved Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, much esteemed Comrade Elena Ceausescu, esteemed comrade deputies: The current session of the Grand National Assembly is taking place in an atmosphere of great patriotic and revolutionary ardor, generated by the magnificent speech delivered by our party secretary general and president of the republic, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, at the joint session of the plenary meeting of the RCP Central Committee and the other democratic bodies, and mass and civic organizations. The speech, which is a document of overwhelming

theoretical and practical value, brilliantly defines the current stage of Romanian society and it establishes with incomparable scientific clearsightedness the directions and guidelines for our future development and the tasks of all communists and of our whole nation to ensure the many-sided prosperity of our homeland and the strengthening of our national sovereignty and independence.

As always throughout his heroic revolutionary activity, our party secretary general again makes an exceptional contribution to the assertion of the general truths of scientific socialism and to enriching it with creative new theses, concepts, and ideas regarding the proper utilization of the huge potential for progress of the socialist system.

I express our complete approval of this document, which is a telling expression of our party secretary general's way of thinking, of the tireless activity he is carrying out with inexhaustible vigor and ardent patriotism at the helm of our party and state; we fulfill the high duty of our conscience by conveying heartfelt thanks and profound gratitude to the most beloved son of our nation, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, for his important contribution to guiding the socioeconomic activity and to ensuring the many-sided development of our country, and for the tireless activity he devotes to the happiness and prosperity of the Romanian people, and to the fulfillment of their fundamental aspirations for peace, well-being, and progress.

Likewise, we pay ardent homage to Comrade Elena Ceausescu, eminent personality of our party and state leadership, brilliant scientist of international renown, for the intensive activity she has devoted to the development of the creative skills of our people, to the constant development of Romanian science, education, and culture, and to the continuous prosperity of our socialist homeland.

Through a happy coincidence, the proceedings of the current session of the supreme legislative forum of our country take place on the day when our whole nation, with justified pride, celebrates the 70th anniversary of the founding of the united Romanian national state. On this great holiday, permeated by great patriotic enthusiasm, allow me to join our whole nation in paying ardent homage to our beloved homeland, which, as a free, dignified, independent, and sovereign country, travels through years of glorious fulfillments and unprecedented brilliance, under the wise leadership of the great hero, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu.

Mentioning that the 1989 plan is fully in keeping with the decisions of the 13th RCP Congress and of the Party National Conference, and with the tasks and guidelines established by the party secretary general on continuing and expanding the process of intensive development of our national economy, the speaker stressed that the achievement of the provisions requires decisive measures to eliminate shortfalls as soon as possible, to strengthen order and discipline in utilizing installations, in making more efficient use of our production capacities, and in reducing consumption.

We should implement the program to repair power aggregates in time and with a high level of quality, and to increase the proper performance of these aggregates, particularly in the thermal power stations of Turceni, Rovinari, and Doicesti; we should continuously perfect the professional training of our personnel, and ensure that 70-80 percent of the power facilities are used.

In order to ensure electric power generation for the next year, it is particularly important to put the new power capacities into operation, make better use of nonconventional resources such as solar and geothermal energy, and of the wind, biomass, biogas, as well as other reusable energy resources. This will have to assume a greater proportion in meeting the energy consumption in all sectors of activity.

In accordance with the recommendations included in your recent speech, much esteemed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, in the years to come we will work steadily to achieve the independence of rural localities from an energy point of view and we will make better use of our potential by using nonconventional energy resources.

In the mining industry we will have to work with the utmost determination primarily in order to increase the degree of utilization of existing production capacities, and to put into operation new capacities on schedule.

We are fully aware of the particular importance of all the sectors of the mining and power industry for the proper activity of the national economy, and we assure you, much esteemed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, that we will act with all our power to fulfill all indicators of the 1989 plan provisions by concentrating on and making rational use of our material and financial means, strengthening order and discipline at all workplaces, and mobilizing each worker and management cadre in the implementation of the approved special programs.

The implementation of the provisions of the 1989 plan for Romania's socieconomic development is indissolubly liked with the fulfillment of a vast investment program; in working out this program, we proceeded from the concept of our party secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, on rationally distributing the national income for accumulation and consumption, and maintaining a high accumulation rate as an essential condition for ensuring the harmonious development of all branches of our national economy and improving the territorial distribution of production forces.

In 1989, 620 industrial production capacities will be put into operation and 650,000 hectares of land will be irrigated, amounting to 306 billion lei's worth of fixed

assets for the overall economy. The comprehensive work on the Arges and Dimbovita Rivers will be completed and 160,000 apartments and magnificent establishments will be built within the new political-administrative and cultural center in the capital city of our homeland.

The investment program is primarily directed toward completing the objectives under construction, modernizing and re-equipping existing enterprises, and carrying out the overhaul and repair work stipulated in the plan. We will attach particular attention to the new production capacities, which ensure the expansion of the raw material and energy base, to processing and making better use of our resources, to making use of recoverable and reusable materials, and to manufacturing high quality products, that are capable of competing on foreign markets. In drafting the investment plan, account was taken of the provisions of the program to perfect the organization and modernization of production processes, and of the allocation of funds primarily for the intensive development of the branches of the processing industry. We are duty-bound to complete all modernization and development operations in chemistry, petrochemistry, metallurgy, and electric engineering and in the machine-building, light, timber, and construction material industries.

I express complete approval for the contents of the draft bills submitted for debate and approval for the current session of the Grand National Assembly, which strongly points out the high level of development reached by our country, particularly in the glorious years that preceeded the Ninth RCP Congress, and presents the ascending progress of Socialist Romania to the new historical stage of development in the future, up to the year 2000. Please allow me to express great appreciation for the decisive role of our party secretary, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the president of our country, in elaborating and corroborating the directions and ways of the intensive development of our national economy, the strategy of raising our homeland to increasingly higher levels of civilization and progress, and in promoting a consistent policy of peace and understanding among all peoples, and establishing a better and more just world.

We assure you, much esteemed and beloved Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, that the working people in the mining, oil, energy and investment sectors will do all they can to fulfill the plan them set out in your brilliant speech, and will work with utmost devotion and in a revolutionary spirit to fulfill all plan indicators in an exemplary manner, thus ensuring the proper operation of all branches of our national economy, and they will meet the great political events of 1989—the 14th RCP Congress and the 45th anniversary of our great national holiday of 23 August—with outstanding achievements.

Deputy Oprea Gives Speech

AU0712212488 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 2 Dec 88 p 6

["Speech by Deputy Gheorghe Oprea," member of the PEC of the RCP Central Committee, at the eighth session of the ninth legislature of the Grand National Assembly, on 1 December in Bucharest]

[Text] Much esteemed and beloved Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, much esteemed Comrade Elena Ceausescu, esteemed comrade deputies: The current session of the supreme legislative forum of our country is taking place on the memorable day when our whole nation celebrates the 70th anniversary of the great historical event, the founding of the united romanian national state, a brilliant crowning of the century-old, steady struggle for freedom and independence and for the assertion of the national existence, within a united and sovereign country.

This glorious anniversary gives us the opportunity to state with complete satisfaction and patriotic pride that the patriotic and revolutionary ideals for which our forefathers fought, for which the communists and other militants of the workers class sacrificed themselves, and for which our people shed their blood are being asserted under the leadership of the RCP, which ensures the steady dynamics of the production forces and of socio-economic development, the improvement of our people's level of civilization level and standard of living, and the powerful assertion of the principles of socialism and revolutionary humanism.

We pay ardent homage and express our profound gratitude to the great son of the nation and the hero among the heroes of our nation, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, who, in the almost quarter of a century since then, through the will of the communists and of all working people, has been at the helm of our party and state as RCP secretary general and as the first president of Romania, has brilliantly united the whole nation around the party and has sanctioned the true independence and sovereignty of the country.

In an atmosphere of strong creative ardor, generated by the masterly speech delivered by our much beloved and esteemed leader, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, at the joint session of the plenary meeting of the RCP Central Committee and the other mass and civic democratic bodies and organizations, we are filled with feelings of great patriotic ardor for Socialist Romania's present and for the brilliant future which is presented in this document of priceless theoretical and practical value, which is an unequalled model of scientific and farsighted analysis of the current and future period, of the creative application of objective laws to the specific conditions prevailing in our country, and which is a wonderful program for the revolutionary work and action of the party and the whole nation.

The impressive multitude of ideas and theses included by the party secretary general in his outstanding speech thoroughly reflect Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's great virtues as an original and revolutionary thinker, and his tireless activity devoted to our homeland's socioeconomic progress, to improving the material and cultural standard of our whole nation, and to raising the international prestige of socialist Romania, and they represent a brilliant contribution to developing and enriching the theoretical and practical revolutionary thesaurus of our times.

The broad opening toward a profound scientific analysis, from a dialectical point of view, of the particular features of the current stage in socialist construction and of some issues of utmost significance—such as the role of the political leadership in the life and the overall progress of society, the decisive importance of basing management and organizational work on scientific principles, the strong assertion of revolutionary workers' democracy, the role of the party bodies and organizations in promoting a revolutionary spirit and in embarking on the activity to fulfill the current programs, to strengthen legality, and intensify the political-educational activity of shaping the new man—justify the claim that the speech of the party secretary general bears the imprint of an outstanding programmatic document, which marks a new and particularly important moment in the successful construction of the comprehensively developed socialist society on Romanian soil.

That is why, on behalf of all working people who are carrying out their activity in the field of chemistry, petrochemistry, light industry, transportation, and telecommunications, and on my own behalf, I would like to express great respect, ardent love, profound regard, and boundless gratitude to you, much esteemed and beloved Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu; these are feelings that we all nurture for your life and for the work that you have devoted with self-denial to the homeland and to the Romanian people, and for the way in which you have broadly mobilized all our national resources and are leading the huge party and state activity of scientifically applying the principles of building socialism with the people and for the people, and ensuring the steady construction in Romania of the most just and humane system, the golden dream of mankind—communism.

At the same time, I fulfill the honorable duty of my conscience in paying ardent and respectful homage to Comrade Academician Doctor Engineer Elena Ceausescu, who, with self-denial and revolutionary ardor, works for the development of scientific and technological research, and of Romanian education and culture, and makes an outstanding contribution to elaborating and implementing the programs for the socioeconomic development of our country.

While examining the development of the chemical, petrochemical, and light industry and of transportation in the years of the current 5-year plan, I would like to mention that, on the basis of your guidelines and recommendations, much esteemed Comrade Secretary General, we have taken particular action to ensure the intensive development of production and have been permanently concerned with the fulfillment of the special programs to ensure an increase in labor productivity by making effective use of the machines, equipment, and installations, observing the established consumption norms for raw and other materials, fuel, and energy, and by reducing production costs.

Nevertheless, our achievements in the past 11 months of this year—although better than those achieved last year—have been unsatisfactory and below the technical-material potential of the central departments and enterprises in this sector. In a spirit of great communist responsibility, I have to mention openly that the shortfalls were caused mainly by lags in the field of organization and by the fact that we have not taken firm action and have not done all we could to eliminate lags from the activity of ministries, central departments, and enterprises.

Our important tasks in fulfilling the magnificent objectives established by the 13th RCP Congress and party national conference require a radical change in the activity of the government, branch coordinating councils, ministries, central departments, and enterprises to prominently show a spirit of renewal, a new way of thinking and of revolutionary action, in order to increase the spirit of initiative, professionalism, and responsibility of the collective management bodies and of all working people in completely ensuring the practice of revolutionary workers democracy.

The discussions within the general meetings of the central departments and enterprises on the draft plans and budget for 1989 enabled the working people to voice various proposals with a view to attaining the commodity production, export production, and the required economic efficiency and quality indicators, and identifying ways to achieve the planned increase which guarantees the successful fulfillment of the plans for the next year and for the whole 5-year plan period.

We assure you, much esteemed and beloved Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, that, by fully applying your precious guidelines and recommendations in our activity, we will focus on the steady and complete fulfillment of itemized production, primarily the production earmarked for exports, we will make effective use of all our material and human resources, and we will work in particular to raise the technical and qualitative level of our products, in order to ensure competitive sales on foreign markets and obtain high prices. Likewise, we will do all we can to reduce production costs.

We will make greater efforts to ensure the exemplary fulfillment of the programs to organize and modernize production, programs that have been elaborated under the direct scientific guidance of Comrade Academician Doctor Engineer Elena Ceausescu.

We will pursue in particular the introduction and integration into the production flow of those products which have a high technological level, and which ensure the appropriate utilization of raw and other materials and the competitive character of our products in the world arena.

In the spirit of your recommendations, much esteemed and beloved Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, we will pay particular attention to increasing the role of revenue and the expenditure budget in order to strengthen control, order, and plan discipline, as well as responsibility in using the material, and monetary funds entrusted by society to our working people's collectives, and thus ensure the rate of rotation of circulating capital, reduce stocks to the minimum, and ensure the profitability of all products.

I warmly support the endorsement of the draft bill on the uniform national plan for Romania's socioeconomic development, the plans for the development of agriculture, food industry, silviculture, and water management, and the state budget for 1989, which were submitted for discussion to the current session of the Grand National Assembly. We assure you, much esteemed and beloved Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, that the working people in the chemical, petrochemical, and light industry and in the field of transportation and telecommunications, following your example of patriotic devotion and revolutionary self-denial, will spare no efforts and will do all they can to ensure the unflinching implementation of the plan provisions for this year and will thoroughly prepare the 1989 plan, in order to appropriately fulfill the entire 5-year plan and implement the far-reaching guidelines that were formulated with so much clearsightedness in your masterly speech. We are aware of the overwhelming significance of the period we are currently traversing, of the great responsibility incumbent on all of us to fulfill the brilliant program of building the comprehensively developed socialist society and ensuring Romania's progress toward communism; thus, we will be able to meet the 14th RCP Congress and the 45th anniversary of our great national holiday with new and important achievements.

Self-Sufficiency Program for 1989 Adopted

AU0712105588 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 3 Dec p 4

["Program for Self-Management and Self-Sufficiency to Ensure Appropriate Consumer Supplies of Agricultural Produce and Foodstuffs, and Industrial Consumer Goods for 1989," adopted by the Grand National Assembly in Bucharest on 2 December]

[Text] The program for self-management and self-sufficiency to ensure consumer supplies of agricultural produce and foodstuffs, and industrial consumer goods has been formulated in accordance with the 13th RCP Congress and National Conference directions and on the basis of recommendations and the direct contribution made by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, party secretary general and president of the Republic. It reflects the constant concern of our party and state with achieving outputs, ensuring supplies for the market stock, and guaranteeing proper supplies for our population.

The program provisions are part and parcel of the measures to perfect the organization and modernization of activities in industry and agriculture, rationally manage resources, and judiciously distribute commodity stocks throughout the country.

The program provisions also bear in mind the application of measures on increasing pay and pensions, and ensuring the availability of commodities and services for people's additional incomes.

I. On Agricultural Produce and Foodstuffs

In accordance with the program, people's supplies are based on the fulfillment of planned outputs and the strict observance of the provisions of the law in respect of ensuring state stocks; responsibility for completely fulfilling these tasks and respecting the quantities established for their own consumption rests on the people's councils as regional bodies of self-management.

In order to implement the provisions of the program for self-management and self-sufficiency, the Ministry of Agriculture, the Ministry of Food Industry, the Ministry of Contracting and Procurement of Agricultural Produce, the people's councils, and state and cooperative agricultural units will take measures to fulfill vegetable and animal production in accordance with the requirements of the new agrarian revolution and the planned state stocks, and to better capitalize on surplus agricultural produce from private farming in keeping with tasks stipulated in the uniform program for increasing agricultural yields on private farms.

The amounts of foodstuffs envisaged to be delivered to the state stocks are based on the requirements of the program for scientific nutrition, differentiated according to counties, cities, and workers centers, and in accordance with the number of people, the proportion of working personnel, and the efforts made in the production process, also taking care to prudently manage and make better use of agricultural produce and foodstuffs earmarked for the market stock.

The following quantities of key agricultural produce and foodstuffs are envisaged:

Meat, Fish, Milk, Other Animal Products, Vegetable Fat, Sugar, and Sugar Products

1989		
Meat, meat products, fats	thousand tonnes	1,150
Fish and fish products	thousand tonnes	340
Fresh milk and milk products	thousand hectoliter	9,500
Cheese	thousand tonnes	105
Butter and margarine	thousand tonnes	90
Edible oil	thousand tonnes	205
Sugar	thousand tonnes	330
Sugar products, pastries, and sweets	thousand tonnes	600
Eggs	million	3,200

The delivery of meat and meat products will amount to more than 500,000 tonnes, while the difference will be delivered in the form of processed meat, cans, and cooked meals with appropriate ingredients.

Consumer supplies of meat will be provided in accordance with the number of animals allocated for this purpose for the whole country, for Bucharest Municipality, and each county.

For this purpose, the county people's counties and Bucharest Municipality, as regional bodies of self-management and self-sufficiency, will take decisive measures to ensure the planned number of livestock, slaughter weight, and to completely fulfill the tasks concerning deliveries to the market stock. If the slaughter weight is exceeded, the surplus products will be used as additional reserves for the local consumption stocks.

In the event the established slaughter weight is not observed, the county will not receive an additional number of animals over the planned number.

The strict application of this slaughtering program according to counties and people, who are to receive supplies from the state stocks, will result in each county ensuring its own needs for meat and meat products.

The amount of livestock ensured from the state stocks will be supplemented by the number of pigs, sheep, and poultry raised on private farms.

Measures have been worked out to diversify the range of cooked meals to ensure a selection of varied and complete meals.

An amount of 340,000 tonnes of fish and fish products will be supplied, of which 160,000 tonnes will be fish as such, while the difference will be supplied (with appropriate ingredients) in the form of semi-processed and canned fish, and cooked meals.

The Ministry of Food Industry and the Ministry of Agriculture will take steps to increase fish production from domestic waters and from the Black Sea, as well as the amount of fish from ocean fishing. Likewise, the variety range and quality of processed fish products will be improved by strictly observing manufacturing technologies and recipes.

The Ministry of Food Industry will take measures to increase and diversify production of pastries and to improve the quality and appearance of sugar products.

In the case of edible oil and sugar, supplies for the people will be ensured in accordance with current regulations.

Wheat for Bread and Flour, Corn for Corn Meal, and Other Grain Products

1989		
Wheat for bread and flour	thousand tonnes	2,800
Corn for corn meal	thousand tonnes	500
Pasta products	thousand tonnes	87
Cookies	thousand tonnes	115
Husked rice, cereal and cereal mixtures	thousand tonnes	126

In establishing the quantities of wheat for bread and flour and of corn for corn meal, account was taken of the people in cities and workers centers, of commuters and personnel holding jobs in communes, as well as of people living in hilly and mountainous areas, where no grains are grown, who contract and deliver vegetable and animal products.

The cooperative members who are active in agricultural production cooperatives located in grain-growing areas, the family members in their care, and pensioners or other disabled cooperative members will receive their supplies of bread, flour, and corn meal from agricultural production cooperatives, that is, from the quantities envisaged for labor remuneration.

The agricultural cooperative units will supply cooperative members and mechanizers working for agricultural cooperatives with bread and flour in keeping with the quantities of wheat due to them as payment in kind for the number of days worked, using to this end bakeries and mills in the given communes.

Vegetables, Potatoes, Fruits, and Grapes

1989		
Potatoes—overall	thousand tonnes	1,500
of which:		
—fall potatoes	thousand tonnes	1,200
—new and summer potatoes	thousand tonnes	300
Vegetables—overall	thousand tonnes	3,000
Navy beans and peas	thousand tonnes	50
Fruits	thousand tonnes	600
Grapes	thousand tonnes	250

At the same time, in 1989, 215,000 tonnes of canned vegetables, 50,000 tonnes of tomato paste, and 84,000 tonnes of canned fruit will be delivered to the market stock.

In order to guarantee proper consumer supplies of vegetables, potatoes, and fruits, the Ministry of Agriculture will take measures to ensure the quantities envisaged for the state stocks and see to it that they are properly transported to markets and trade outlets, and will strengthen control over the selection and delivery of products. At the same time, the Ministry of Domestic Trade will take steps to ensure that all the commodity stocks are delivered, that trade outlets are modernized, and that high standards are achieved in trade.

To ensure supplies until the new crop is available, the following quantities have to be stored in silos for the market stock to be sold in the first half of 1989:

	thousand tonnes on 1 January 1989
Fall potatoes	550
Field vegetables	180
of which:	
—Onion	60
—Root vegetables	67
—Cabbage	40
Fruits and grapes	170
of which:	
—Apples	159
—Grapes	10
Semiprocessed products	25

The quantities of agricultural produce and foodstuffs which are distributed through the state stocks are supplemented by the quantities of milk and milk products, grain, vegetables, potatoes, and fruits from private farms, as well as by those achieved by cooperative members from payment in kind.

II. On Industrial Products

In order to ensure proper supplies of industrial products for the people, appropriate quantities and a great variety of new commodities characterized by a higher qualitative and technical standard will be secured.

Within the framework of commodities envisaged to be delivered to the state stocks, account was taken of improving the structure by ensuring a greater amount and variety of high quality, special, and deluxe goods, and of creating new products, with a high level of processing, manufacture, finishing, and design to meet the tastes of various categories of consumers.

When distributing industrial products to the counties, priority should be given to supplying municipalities and workers centers with the whole range of commodities.

Textiles and Footwear

Concerning major textiles and footwear, an increased quantity of these commodities, particularly items for children and youth, has been envisaged, as follows:

1989		
Textile ready-made garments	million lei	25,000
of which:		
—Winter coats and overcoats	thousand units	4,500
—Lightweight coats, raglan-sleeved coats, parkas, windbreakers	thousand units	2,500
—Trousers	thousand units	6,500
—Dresses and robes	thousand units	5,800
—Shirts and sports jackets	thousand units	17,500
Knitwear	million lei	14,900
of which:		
—Woolen-type knitwear	thousand units	36,600
—Cotton-wool knitwear for babies	thousand units	24,000
—Cotton-wool type flannel underwear	thousand units	15,500
—Stockings—overall	thousand pairs	144,000
Footwear—overall	thousand pairs	82,550

The Ministry of Light Industry, cooperative, and small-scale industry units will take steps to increase the variety range of all products, and ensure customary and strictly necessary items, specific to each season, especially ready-made garments, knitwear, and footwear by better capitalizing on domestic raw materials and on reusable materials.

Durable Goods, Household Items and Appliances, and Other Industrial Commodities

The major product quantities envisaged ensure people's supplies as follows:

1989		
Radio sets and cassette recorder radios	thousand units	540
Television sets	thousand units	325
Refrigerators	thousand units	200
Washing machines	thousand units	270
Vacuum cleaners	thousand units	160
Bicycles	thousand units	280
Passenger cars	thousand units	60
Wood furniture	million lei	6,300

In 1989 new products characterized by better technical-functional parameters and an improved quality range will be supplied; similarly, the work of modernizing available products and improving their quality and performance will continue.

Concerning agricultural and household equipment, as well as materials for the maintenance and repair of dwellings, the available good stocks ensure proper supplies for the people in towns and villages.

Concerning solid fuels, a further increase in the share of coal in people's supplies is envisaged.

Concerning medicine for preserving people's health, appropriate quantities of medicines and other pharmaceutical products are envisaged.

The Ministry of Health will pursue the judicious regional allocation of the proper range of these products and the medical staff will see to it that natural remedies for curing diseases are promoted to a greater extent, that medical treatment is carried out according to medical prescriptions, and that abuse of medicines is combated.

III. On Public Services

Public services will develop by expanding the network of public services, diversifying them, increasing the number of public service units, and improving the quality of services.

In 1989 the volume of public services will amount to 54,700 million lei and a more marked increase in basic services that are in greater demand will be ensured as follows:

	million lei
—Services for custom made products (garments, knitwear, footwear and so forth)	24,590
—Services for repair of personal and household goods and appliances of which:	10,935
—Services for maintenance of electronic and electro-technical appliances	1,580
—Services for the maintenance and repair of passenger cars, motor-bicycles and so forth	3,910
—Dry cleaning and laundry services	520
—Post and radio-television services	2,280
—Services for health care, physical education and sports, culture, and arts	2,970
—Barber, hairdressing, and cosmetic services	1,615

IV. Measures to Implement This Program

—The Council of Ministers will pursue daily and examine weekly how the ministries and people's councils fulfill production tasks and ensure the delivery of all agricultural produce, foodstuffs, and industrial products to the state stocks as stipulated in the program for regional self-management and self-sufficiency, and will exercise constant control over the work done by central and local bodies to honor their obligations.

—The Ministry of Agriculture and the Ministry of Contracting and Procurement of Agricultural Produce will take steps, together with people's councils, to increase livestock and vegetable production in state and cooperative units, achieve the planned number of livestock and observe slaughtering weight, completely and effectively make use of arable land and grassland, and ensure smooth and complete delivery of products to the state stocks in accordance with plan provisions for each county.

Similarly, the Ministry of Agriculture, the Ministry of Contracting and Procurement of Agricultural Produce, the Central Union of Production, Procurement, and Commodity Sales Cooperatives, and people's councils will take most resolute steps—in accordance with the law—to increase the contracting and procurement of agricultural produce from people's private farms.

—The people's councils will draw up programs for self-management and self-sufficiency for each regional administrative unit and will be responsible for fulfillment of production tasks and the delivery of products to the state stocks, as well as for the achievement of all planned supplies for the population.

—In order to improve supplies for Bucharest Municipality and for the major workers centers, the Ministry of Food Industry, the Ministry of Contracting and Procurement of Agricultural Produce will see to it that the agricultural units whose duty it is to ensure supplies for these localities deliver all planned quantities of meat, milk, vegetables, potatoes, and fruit.

—The Ministry of Food Industry, the Ministry of Agriculture, the Ministry of Domestic Trade, the Central Union of Production, Procurement, and Commodity Sales Cooperatives, the Ministry of Tourism, and the people's councils will take steps to ensure the implementation of the provisions of the program endorsed in connection with increasing the production of small-scale food and culinary industry and with a view to expanding the sale of cooked and pre-cooked meals to the people.

—The people's councils, the Ministry of Domestic Trade, the Ministry of Tourism, the Central Union of Production, Procurement, and Commodity Sales Cooperatives, and the other ministries will take further steps to develop production in annex farms of collective consumption units in socioeconomic enterprises and public catering in order to increase their contribution to meeting their own needs in respect of meat, vegetables, and other products.

—The Ministry of Domestic Trade, together with the ministries in charge of production, the State Planning Committee, and people's councils will take measures to judiciously allocate—differentiated according to region—the commodity stocks stipulated in the program in accordance with the structure of the population and physical efforts made, and especially ensure proper supplies for Bucharest Municipality, workers centers, mining, oil, and forestry areas, as well as for large-scale construction sites and tourist areas.

—The Ministry of Agriculture and the Ministry of Domestic Trade, together with people's councils, will take steps to store the planned quantities of potatoes, vegetables, and fruits in silos on schedule and to make sure that these products are properly selected and preserved in order to secure consumer supplies until the new crop becomes available.

—The Ministry of Food Industry and people's councils will set up a constant stock of meat—within the approved quantities—for Bucharest Municipality and the counties to ensure continuity in people's supplies.

—The Ministry of Domestic Trade, the State Committee for Prices, and the people's councils will take steps to properly organize trade in markets and fairs, strictly applying the provisions of the law on the sale of agricultural produce and foodstuffs private producers, by observing maximum market prices, and ensuring quality products and hygiene standards.

—The Ministry of Domestic Trade, the Ministry of Tourism, the Central Union of Production, Procurement, and Commodity Sales Cooperatives, and people's councils will take measures to properly organize trade and public catering at the seaside and in spas in accordance with the special program that will be drawn up for the summer holiday season.

The ministries producing industrial consumer goods will take measures to completely fulfill the tasks to manufacture a wide range of improved quality products, ensure a smooth supply of trade outlets with commodities envisaged in the program, while observing the established technical and qualitative parameters in accordance with the special programs endorsed for branches and groups of products.

—The Ministry of Mines and the Ministry of Wood Processing and Construction Materials will ensure the full delivery on schedule of the quantities of coal and firewood stipulated in the program in order to ensure appropriate supplies of fuel for the population.

—The Ministry of Transportation and Telecommunications, together with the Ministry of Food Industry, the Ministry of Agriculture, the Ministry of Domestic Trade, and the Central Union of Production, Procurement, and Commodity Sales Cooperatives, will ensure the proper transportation of agricultural produce, foodstuffs, and industrial goods, thus eliminating any waste and loss of value.

—The Ministry of Domestic Trade, the Ministry of Tourism, the Central Union of Production, Procurement, and Commodity Sales Cooperatives, the other ministries with a trade network, and people's councils will take steps, together with the bodies of the General State Inspectorate for Product Quality Control, to increase the qualitative exactingness of goods deliveries, strengthen order and discipline in each trade outlet, and make sure that, in their relations with people, all trade network personnel observe trade regulations and the norms of socialist ethics and equity.

—The ministries, the other central bodies, and people's councils in charge of public services will take measures to continue to develop and diversify services to the people, to expand the network of service rendering units, and to improve the quality of public services.

—The council for coordinating the production of consumer goods, supplies, and public services, together with the ministries in charge of production and those in charge of trade, will examine weekly how program provisions are being implemented, take effective measures to ensure the proper fulfillment of production, supplies, and sales, and will report to the Council of Ministers on how the population's supplies are being ensured.

The implementation of the provisions of the self-management and self-sufficiency program requires the participation of the working people in industry and agriculture in increasing output, improving product quality, and in strengthening the responsibility of people's councils and of economic units for ensuring proper public supplies, thus contributing to the implementation of the decisions of the 13th RCP Congress and National Conference, of the guidelines and recommendations made by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the republic, with a view to improving the standard of living of the whole nation—the supreme goal of RCP policy.

V.

The distribution of agricultural produce, foodstuffs, and industrial consumer goods to the counties is approved by State Council decree.

AGERPRES Reports Agriculture Plan

AU0312152788 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1808 GMT 2 Dec 88

["Chief Growth Indicators of Romanian Agriculture"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 2/12/1988—The indicators of the agriculture development plan for 1989 are based on the intensive growth and modernization of this basic branch of the Romanian economy whose overall production is planned to increase by 5-5.5 percent over this year's.

Net agricultural production is to grow 6-6.5 percent from this year in terms of value, with productivity in terms of the sold agricultural production being planned to rise by 6.9 percent. Moreover, the expenditure on 1,000 lei worth of marketable production is to drop 45 percent in

state enterprises and 9.5 percent in farm machinery stations. As concerns the farmers' incomes from work on producer cooperative farms and in their homesteads, they will be twice larger.

The tasks in this field take into account the provisions of the national programme of safe and stable crops, of the self-management and self-sufficiency programme by territorial units and of the other programmes in force that make provision for growing productions of cereals and technical crops, vegetables, grapes and wine, as well as fruits, and for the development of animal farming, sericulture, and beekeeping, and of the fodder basis.

Chairman Closes Session

AU0212190888 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1811 GMT 2 Dec 88

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 2/12/1988—The eighth session of the ninth Grand National Assembly (Romania's parliament) concluded in plenum on 2 December at noon.

In the morning meeting held in the presence of RCP general secretary, Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu, Deputy Prime Minister Lina Ciobanu presented the memorandum of the self-management and self-sufficiency programme for a good supply of the population with foodstuffs and industrial consumer goods in 1989.

After the debates, the Grand National Assembly [GNA] unanimously approved the programme.

Next, the memorandum of the bill regarding improved economic and financial mechanism by bettering the price-formation system and of the bill of improving payment system to stimulate export production and export were presented. The two bills were analysed and unanimously approved by the relevant GNA standing commissions.

After discussing them by articles, the Grand National Assembly endorsed in unanimity the two bills.

Relating to the last item on the agenda the bills were read for the approval of the decrees containing norms with force of law issued by the State Council as well as a report of the GNA Constitutional and Juridical Commission which endorsed the bills.

After discussing them by articles, the GNA unanimously approved the respective bills.

GNA Chairman Nicolae Giosan declared the eighth session of the ninth Grand National Assembly closed.

Defense Secretary Speaks on Army Budget

AU0612164988 Belgrade NARODNA ARMIJA in Serbo-Croatian No 2577 1 Dec 88

[Speech by Colonel General Veljko Kadijevic, federal secretary for national defense, at the session of the SFRY Assembly Federal Chamber in Belgrade on 24 November]

[Text] Consolidating the country's defense and security capability still is, and will long remain, the prerequisite for its peaceful development. Yugoslavia has opted for the concept of all-people's defense and social self-protection on a lasting basis. The effectiveness of this concept was proved:

(1) During the course of the national liberation war where this concept originated and when it was proved in practice that victory over a powerful military power is possible;

(2) During the entire postwar social buildup, when it successfully deterred any armed aggression against our country, particularly in the case of some critical events, so that we have had the longest period of peace in the recent history of our peoples.

The concept of all-people's defense can successfully respond to all kinds of threats and makes it possible to build up a stable and flexible defense system that can successfully perform four essential defense functions at the same time:

a) Deterring an aggressor both by the country's overall defense capability and by the existence of a contingent of armed forces capable of responding to any assault by an aggressor by an assault that would involve for the aggressor the risk of unacceptable losses. This is a particularly significant factor in countering the latest military doctrines that are primarily directed against small and nonaligned countries.

b) Defeating the aggressor energetically and quickly in the case of an aggression with a limited objective. It is very important here that potential aggressors are aware that our capabilities and orientations are such;

c) In the case of an aggression with a radical objective in which the relation of forces is unfavorable to us and in which the aggressor opts for a quick victory applying modern variants of blitzkrieg, one should prepare oneself to force on the aggressor a prolonged and exhausting war until victory;

d) It offers the possibility of effectively eliminating an emergency situation, that is, of successfully countering the doctrine of low-intensity conflict in all its forms.

A special role within such a concept of defense—a concept based on the complete human and material potential of the country—is played, and special responsibility is borne by, the Armed Forces and particularly the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA], as the offensive and most mobile part of them. It is from such a historical and modern orientation of all-people's defense that the place and role of the YPA, as well as the purpose and directions of its further development result, all of which determines the drafting of the YPA budget.

The trend of the general developments in international relations, particularly in relations between superpowers and military-political blocs, is basically positive. Global relations in the political sphere are more inclined toward coexistence and cooperation than toward confrontation, although the actual relations will probably be a constant combination of elements of controlled cooperation and controlled confrontation. Regarding the economic sphere, these relations vary from case to case, following the logic of economic interests, as well as having military strategic interest serving as a permanent corrective element that would intervene in both the political and economic relations mentioned above. The primary interest in the military-strategic sphere is to avoid mutual conflict between the superpowers and between blocs. On the whole, relations in all three spheres mentioned above have a positive impact on world peace, which is based more and more on the principles of collective security, and less on the relation of forces. Strategic parity, particularly regarding nuclear forces, continues to be a permanent element of strategic intimidation and deterrence, and is objectively a factor limiting the possibility of a so-called major war.

By withdrawing and destroying the intermediate- and shorter-range missiles in Europe, total nuclear potential is reduced by only 4 percent. Even if the present strategic nuclear arsenal is reduced by as much as 50 percent, there would still remain a sufficient quantity for mutual destruction. One should add here the several tens of thousands of tactical nuclear warheads in the armament of several countries, so that there is no doubt that nuclear arms will continue to be the main deterrent in global relations. Therefore, the world will need much more time and effort to ensure universal detente and security, particularly if one considers the fact that there is an increasing number of countries that are improving or producing nuclear weapons, or which possess the technical and technological capability to produce nuclear weapons.

Although the USSR has formulated the "defense sufficiency" doctrine which implies that a country's armed forces should be of such a quantity and quality to preclude either side winning a possible war, the "competition doctrine" that the United States particularly insists on results in the real continuation of the arms race. At the same time, there is the tendency to compensate for any reduction of nuclear or any other weapons

by developing new armament systems whereby an adequate parity in the relation of forces is secured and the quality of armaments raised.

The Essence of New Conventional Doctrines

Because the role of nuclear weapons lies more and more in the sphere of deterrence and less and less in the sphere of real usage, very intensive work is being done on the development, improvement, and production of new types of non-nuclear weapons through the application of high technology. In their capabilities and effects, these new weapons considerably exceed the present generations of conventional weapons, and some of their characteristics are similar to nuclear combat means. New conventional military doctrines are being developed on this basis and are realistically much more applicable, particularly against Third World regions and countries. It is a characteristic of these doctrines—the doctrine of in-depth strike, the doctrine of air-land battle, and the doctrine of quick deep penetration—that they further radicalize the strategic blitzkrieg doctrine. I would particularly like to stress that more significance is being attached to the doctrine of low-intensity conflict, which is primarily directed against nonaligned and other developing countries burdened by an unstable internal situation. Countries whose armed forces are insufficiently technically equipped face the increased danger of the so-called stand-off weapons [dejstvo sa distance], because they in fact cannot retaliate against an enemy who uses such weapons offensively. Almost everybody plans to strengthen their armed forces qualitatively with some insignificant quantitative reduction.

Recently, the entire world has been carefully monitoring events in our country. Most countries express an interest in Yugoslavia's stability. Some neighboring and other countries are making various assessments of the possible course of our internal situation. One must not disregard the fact that sudden reverses in the international military-political situation, which can radically change our strategic position, are always possible. Therefore, we must above all see the security of our country as being closely connected to our internal situation, but also to the development of the military-political factor in our region and elsewhere.

The Influence of the Crisis on the Country's Defense Capability

Two dominant processes are under way in Yugoslavia today with completely opposite ideological and sociopolitical aims and with many different nuances and variants. One of them has the aim of finding the way out of the country's crisis through three reforms and directing its further socialist self-managing social and economic development toward a richer and more humane society, and the other has the aim of destroying Yugoslavia and its socialist self-managing structure.

The current social crisis and its possible further development has a multiple negative effect on society's defense capability and a stressed tendency toward increasing the danger to the country's integrity. The inefficient functioning of the political and legal system, among other things, results in the decrease in the moral strength of society and the Armed Forces. The economic and structural crisis in the country is undermining the material basis of all-people's defense and social self-protection, limiting technological equipping and modernization of the Armed Forces, and has a negative effect on the defense and self-protection consciousness of the population and the members of the Armed Forces.

The different ideopolitical movements in society are bringing about disintegration of the Yugoslav social sphere, provoking national divisions, and contributing to the establishment of some movements in the country that visualize a "third" Yugoslavia, or more precisely, no Yugoslavia, because allegedly everybody is a loser in present Yugoslavia. They also inspire attacks on basic social values, including the YPA, thus reducing the country's defense ability and the combat readiness of the Armed Forces. A quasi-democratic climate is being created in which all means are allowed. Partial interests, a feeling of defeatism, and doubts about the prospects of life in common are strengthening in the people's awareness.

Nationalism, as an ideological concept and practical activity, is on the increase in all the parts and activities of society, which is confirmed by the increasing phenomena of national divisions, the provocation of excesses on a national basis, and the encouragement of national exclusiveness and conflicts in daily life. Nationalism is potentially the most dangerous factor for inducing the disintegration of the Armed Forces and it opens up scope for fatal interethnic divisions.

Attacks on the YPA Serve To Destroy Yugoslavia

The key tasks of the 9th and 16th sessions of the LCY Central Committee on Kosovo are not being implemented. Since the 17th session, activities from the positions of Albanian separatism and nationalism have been intensified, and this was publicly and drastically manifested in recent days. The security of persons and property, and the freedom and rights of citizens, especially Serbs and Montenegrins (and increasingly Albanians who oppose the national-separatist forces) continue to be seriously endangered, and this encourages them to emigrate under duress. At the same time, Serbian and Montenegrin nationalists encourage activities that are not in the interest of the Serbia and Montenegrin people in Kosovo, but objectively serve the interests of the counterrevolution, whose final aim is to break up Yugoslavia.

The attacks on the YPA above all serve to destroy Yugoslavia, and its federal and socialist system. One wants to change the place, role, and nature determined

for it by the SFRY Constitution, as well as its place and role established by the concept of all-people's defense. Therefore these attacks are constantly strengthening and are being carried out continuously by means of psychological-propaganda pressure and other overt and covert assaults by the forces of the external and internal enemy, and by means of attempts to compromise its officers, spread defeatism and discourage people from the military vocation, encourage national homogenization within the Armed Forces, advocate illegal group activities within the YPA from the positions of nationalism and separatism, and carry out the crudest forms of subversive activities, terrorism, sabotage, and service to foreign elements as agents of foreign intelligence services. The attacks on the YPA are also helped by a benevolent and tolerant attitude by some institutions of the political and legal system.

The conviction of the YPA personnel that they perform an honorable and socially responsible task that demands effort and sacrifice, as well as the forsaking of many personal and family pleasures, finds itself daily in sharp conflict with the ruthless insults to personal and institutional dignity, slanders, and malicious suspicions. This fills them with indignation.

The decisions of the 17th LCY Central Committee session, the consistent elaboration of them and making them concrete within the framework of the three reforms, as well as their energetic implementation, mark our correct, democratic way out of the crisis. It is probably precisely for this reason that resistance is appearing to the elaboration and implementation of these decisions. We must energetically eliminate the resistance, whether in the political or economic sphere. The essential prerequisite for this being done according to the norms of democratic society is the efficient functioning of the state at all levels of its existence, its institutions, and its legal system. The current situation in this sphere must be overcome very rapidly and resolutely, because there is a danger that the reforms may be threatened from the very start.

In making decisions about the policy of the further development of the Armed Forces, we always proceed from an objective estimate of the possible ways in which the security of the SFRY could be threatened and of the set-up of the combat means in our theater of war, bearing in mind the very specific relationship of forces, especially the level of the technical equipment of our forces and those of the potential aggressors.

Until the end of the 1985, that is, before the adoption of the current medium-term plan for the development of the YPA, we succeeded in maintaining a tolerable level in the difference between the level of equipment of the YPA and that of the armed forces of the countries with which we compare ourselves, especially in the quantity of individual types of weapons. However, stagnation in the quality of some combat systems was obvious even then.

Proceeding from the most essential operational needs, in the period 1986-90 it is necessary to provide 6.61 percent of the estimated national income to finance the YPA. However, considering the serious economic situation, our main aim was to stop a further widening of differences in relation to the armed forces of the countries with which we compare ourselves. The prerequisite for this were resources to the value of 5.2 percent of the national income whose average annual increase was planned to be at a rate of 3 percent.

It is well-known that the resources that were actually provided for financing the army were considerably less than planned, because the basis on which these were calculated was reduced due to the real fall in national income. Moreover, funds were not provided according to the planned percentage of allocations. Therefore, in 1986 funding amounted to 4.98 percent of national income and in 1987, 4.52 percent. Apart from that, delay in receiving the funds reduced their real value.

In such unfavorable conditions for providing financial resources, we were forced, apart from other things, to make certain changes in our plans and programs:

1. As you know, the SFRY Presidency made the decision to reduce the number of military personnel by 13 percent, which is now being implemented;

2. We have carried out a restructuring of certain forms of spending in favor of technical modernization;

3. As well as this, we were forced to abandon some technical modernization programs and we have had to limit some, and extend the deadline for their realization.

The Fall in Standards and Problems of Business Operations

The next important consequence of the reduction in the real amount of funds for financing the YPA is a fall in the living standard of army members. Although we have attempted to coordinate its changes with the established policy on standards in society, I must say that the personal incomes of active military personnel and civilians in the YPA have recorded a fall in the last 2 years greater than the fall in real personal incomes in the economy. It has been estimated that this year's fall in the personal incomes of the YPA members will be about 17 percent, which is also the greatest fall so far. The slowed rate of housing construction has also had an unfavorable effect on living standards. Because of general limitations regarding the level of personal incomes and our desire to provide the minimum existence for the youngest officers, there is now in practice a very nonincentive payment system whose essential characteristic is the ratio of 3:1 between the highest and the lowest personal incomes in the YPA. All this has the effect of increasing the drain from the YPA, especially of highly-qualified and able cadres, and reducing people's desire to enter military service. The investigations that we made at the end of

1987 show that the main reasons why people leave active military service are: dissatisfaction with personal incomes, specific conditions and difficulties of the work, burden and responsibility at work, ever slower resolution of the housing problem, frequent transfers, worsened employment possibilities for family members, and so on.

I would particularly point out the unfavorable consequences to which our military industry has been subjected. Changed conditions in business operations in the country and trends in the world market have most directly caused serious difficulties in this branch of the economy, which employs about 77,000 workers. Its financial position is weak, although the results that have been achieved have been above the average results of the Yugoslav economy.

The latest problems are mainly connected with the inadequate use of capacities and the decrease in production. The present capacities of the military industry were built on the basis of plans and programs for the development of the SFRY Armed Forces in times when 6.17 percent, 5.80 percent, and 5.20 percent of national income was allocated for financing the YPA, and on the basis of an assessment of export possibilities that could involve 30 percent of existing capacities. However, the reduction of resources for financing the YPA and the production of armament and military equipment over a number of years calls into question the employment of a considerable part of military industry capacities.

The Direction of Further Buildup and Improvement of the Armed Forces

In order to overcome the present difficulties, we have started to draw up a blueprint for the development of every organization of associated labor in special purpose production until the year 2000 and will also undertake a number of measures ranging from restructuring production (according to the plan for the long-term development of the Armed Forces) to mothballing a portion of the production capacities.

The assessment of the situation I have presented points clearly to the conclusion that the aims and tasks of the concept of all-people's defense in maintaining the country's security remain the same. However, the focus must be on strengthening the function of deterring any aggression, because that is the most rational and, under present conditions, a very realistic form of defense. The deterrence function certainly must not be at the expense of other functions, because in the event there is a need to react using one of the other three functions—particularly in the case of an aggression with a radical objective—there will be no time or opportunity to compensate for what was missed during peacetime. There are two essential conditions that must be met for the successful realization of the deterrence function: (1) overall stability in the country and (2) appropriate preparedness, organization, and level of equipment of the Armed Forces, and particularly the YPA, for efficiently countering the modern military doctrines both in the form of preventive activity and in the case of a possible aggression against our country. In order to perform this function, the moral-political fortitude, readiness, and resoluteness of all army personnel are not in themselves sufficient; it is also necessary for the YPA to be technically equipped as well.

The further buildup and modernization of the Armed Forces, and the YPA in particular, will be mainly directed toward the following:

(1) Maintaining and strengthening the moral-political unity of all members of the Armed Forces on the program of preserving and further developing the achievements of the Yugoslav socialist revolution, and particularly of Yugoslav socialist patriotism and Josip Broz Tito's revolutionary thought and work;

(2) The further theoretical and practical buildup and modernization of military doctrine and combat skills in accordance with our needs and possibilities, with innovations in the development of doctrines and military-political aspects of modern armies, as well as with the need to find timely and appropriate answers to all these challenges. As far as is possible, we must compensate for some shortages in the sphere of material-technological aspects of armed struggle and war in general by an additional buildup of our military doctrine;

(3) The additional buildup of the organizational-formation structure of units so that the overall organizational structure of the Armed Forces is adapted even more closely to the conditions and demands for successfully waging all forms of armed struggle, especially the combined form;

(4) The additional buildup of the system of beefing up the Armed Forces with cadres, modernizing combat training and education, as well as promoting military schooling;

(5) Modernizing the system of leadership and command, both in the organizational and functional sense—above all in those segments that ensure even greater unity, cohesion, and maximum utilization of all available resources;

(6) Improving military organization in accordance with the requirements of modern social achievements ranging from data processing to the social consciousness of the young generation.

Inflation Diminishes Already Reduced Funds

Comrades, in connection with the explanation of the volume of funds for the financing of the YPA in 1989, I do not want to talk about the volume, the concept, or the basis for the drafting of the federal budget, as this was discussed by Comrade Rikanovic, federal secretary for

finance, in his speech. I will confine myself to the part that refers to the financing of the YPA. Above all I would like to point out that the failure to fulfill the volume of funds planned for 1988 and the federal budget outline for 1989, which is based on an unrealistic assessment of nominal economic aggregates, are creating many problems in the planning and financing of the YPA even now. These problems may be even more pronounced next year if the high level of inflation continues.

(a) Speaking about the problems of financing this year and their being carried over to next year, it is essential to bear in mind that 6,269,900,000,000 dinars should be provided as 4.94 percent of the present estimate of national income, which will probably be higher in reality. Up to the July budget readjustment, 4,592,400,000,000 dinars had been provided, and with the proposed further readjustment of the budget which is now being processed, 483.9 billion dinars will be added. This means that a total of 5,076,300,000,000 dinars will be provided, or 4 percent of the national income as currently estimated.

It should be borne in mind that the resources for YPA financing in the first 8 months of this year flowed in with an average delay of 30 days, which was also the delay in paying for our commitments for deliveries at home and abroad. We assess that as a result, the overall funds for YPA financing were reduced by 8 percent in real terms, or 0.41 percent of national income, and that they are in fact being provided at a rate of 3.85 percent of the estimated value of national income.

The portion of the funds that has not been provided amounts to 862 billion dinars [figure as published] and it will probably be larger once the final national income data are supplied. It is clear that the provision of the nominal value of these funds next year results in their being reduced in real terms to the extent of the rate of inflation.

We wish to inform you that we are carrying over these commitments to 1989 on the basis of two points. The first are bills actually due but not paid exceeding 400 billion dinars, and the second are commitments agreed to be postponed until the next year. One can conclude on this basis that at least some 50 percent of the commitments carried over should be paid at the beginning of the year, as is proposed in the draft budget of the federation for 1989.

(b) The proposed volume of funds for financing the YPA in 1989, amounting to 14,809,500,000,000 dinars, has been set on the basis of:

—the procedure for providing funds for this purpose as determined in the SFRY Constitution and the Federal Finance Act;

—the accepted reduction of value of the YPA financing funds in the Yugoslav Social Plan by 5 percent, or rather the determination of its volume at 4.94 percent of national income;

—the estimate of the national income by carrying over a rate of inflation of 78 percent and an increase in this rate by 60 percent in the course of the year, which means together a 133 [figures as published] percent rate of inflation.

The basic aim that really ought to be realized in the course of the next budget year, if the present problems in the implementation of the plans and the army development program are to be eliminated, is to provide stability and security in financing the army, which is the essence of one of the constitutional amendments. It is only in this way that one can ensure that the real value of funds amounting to 4.94 percent of national income is provided. In all our assessments, the elements of which have been explained to you, this is the lowest limit, below which one cannot go, because not only the basic needs of combat readiness but also the implementation of the basic tasks of the army would be jeopardized.

The essential prerequisite for ensuring the real value of the percentage of national income for financing the YPA in 1989 which has been reduced in this way is to establish adequate sources which will provide the security and stability of the inflow of resources and their evaluation over the year, in line with inflation trends and the agreed scope of obligations that have been undertaken toward the military industry and other suppliers at home and abroad.

We have fitted plans for the tasks and financing of the YPA for next year into the material frameworks which proceed from the entire funds proposed in this draft federal budget. The structure of the tasks according to type, scope, and the dynamics of their realization are coordinated with the adapted medium-term plan for the development of the YPA for the period 1988-90, albeit to a reduced extent. We have presented the program for the tasks and financing of the YPA for 1989 to the Council for National Defense of the SFRY Assembly Federal Chamber which has already discussed and adopted it.

Priority in the distribution of resources according to basic purposes goes to maintaining the standard of military personnel at the level that has been reached and providing the elementary requirements of constant combat readiness and technical modernization with the focus on the supplies of weapons in the country. We will coordinate the living standard of the permanent personnel, as established by the law, with trends in the living standard in the country and thereby share the fate of the workers class and people to which the army belongs.

Half the Resources for Development

We are investing more than 50 percent of the total planned resources in development tasks. We are doing this despite the fact that the expenses of the life of the army are growing to an enormous extent, especially as regards food, uniforms, accommodation, and medical treatment. This orientation will particularly adversely affect the otherwise neglected construction and maintenance of infrastructure facilities, as well as the building up of reserves.

We will continue the process of taking the broadest measures and actions in order to increase savings, limit certain forms of spending, improve the organization of work and the effectiveness of business operations, and to generally carry out tasks more rationally and economically. We will place the focus on implementing economic principles in the decisionmaking process and establishing the relationship between results and investment, particularly as far as the complex and expensive developmental programs are concerned. With the same aim, we will continue to perfect the process of expert assessments of projects along with the involvement of the widest circle of experts in society.

In line with the reform of the economic system, we will strive to adapt the work and business operations of the military industry as far as possible, as well as all activities connected with military-economic cooperation with foreign countries. We will strive to bring this entire production even more into the situation where it behaves in line with economic laws, and that means, among other things, in competition with the whole industry of Yugoslavia. Scientific-research work will consistently continue to rely on the total resources of society.

Considering the aims of housing policy reform, we will propose during next year a system of providing apartments for YPA members according to quite new bases. Essentially, we will try to find solutions according to which apartments will be provided by using personal resources in line with the financial possibilities and needs of every person. We would thus achieve significant economic results both in the construction and in the usage of housing.

It is well-known that the army is not a classic budgetary expense, but an active participant in the adoption of new technology and in economic development. Apart from that, its institutions, especially those whose operations are based on income accounting, will carry out important economic and social activities. In all these ways, about 65 percent of the entire funds which have been provided for financing the YPA will be returned to the economy.

Finally, comrades, I can inform you that in preparing the draft 1989 budget, and also independently of that, the army leaderships are continuously studying, evaluating, and seeking the best answer to the question of how one can best help the country find a way out of the economic crisis without threatening the the country's security today and tomorrow. The draft 1989 budget is based on the balance between these two demands along with the fact that a considerable part of the Yugoslav economy depends on the YPA budget.

Kosovo LC Provincial Committee 'Proceedings'

LD0512130488 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1513 GMT 4 Dec 88

["Session of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee: Proceedings"—TANJUG headline]

[Excerpts] Pristina, 4 Dec (TANJUG)—Before the discussion started Remzi Koljgeci, acting president of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium, appealed to the committee members to show unity.

If we had been more united, we would not have found ourselves in the present position. I appeal to you not to take unity as a need stemming from the LC's program orientations or political pragmatism, but primarily and above all as an imperative of our life and common existence. [passage omitted]

For the sake of all the demands stressed at all gatherings, not just those in Kosovo, we must, regardless of some statements and behaviour which have unfortunately become part of our reality, use all our potentials to achieve unity.

Not for a moment should we forget that we are here on the basis of the mandate which the grassroots—the working class, the nations, and nationalities—have entrusted us with. This obliges us to consider ourselves accountable to all, and not just to the nation or the nationality we belong to. We are striving toward achieving the kind unity which will pave the way for bringing all our people closer together. For this reason, we will achieve nothing if unprincipled views are adopted which do not reflect the truth or the existing situation. [passage omitted]

Adem Hasanaj, [not further identified] the first to speak in the ensuing debate, warned that there would be no stable intranational relations in either the province or the country as a whole until the leadership changed their practice and started working in conjunction with the people.

Some circles are trying to put a collective blame on the Albanians. A thesis about the Albanians being a destabilizing factor in Yugoslavia is being circulated and an anti-Albanian mood is being created. This is providing an even more fertile ground for the activity of Albanian nationalists and chauvinists. In his view, there has been no greater involvement by the Albanian population in

the struggle against the activity of separatists and chauvinists because the calls to arms and threats voiced at the mass meetings in Serbia were not followed by an unambiguous dissociation from the Serbian leadership. [passage omitted]

According to Jordan Kostic [not further identified], the situation now is much more difficult than in 1981 and intranational relations have been dangerously disrupted. It is true, he said, that during recent events, Yugoslav and Serbian flags and the picture of Tito were carried. However, at the same time, demands were voiced for leaving the Constitution alone. The call for rehabilitating Fadilj Hodza was greeted with tremendous applause while Sinan Hasani, a steadfast fighter for the implementation of the LCY policy, was booed.

My impression is, Kostic said, that all the meetings were very well organized. Surely the fact that the Kosovo leadership, the LCY Central Committee, and Suvar were hailed while the Serbian LC Central Committee was totally ignored will not help to restore any greater degree of intranational trust. It is difficult to explain why there was support for the conclusions of the 17th Session of the LCY Central Committee while at the same time, the demonstrators refused to accept the assessment of the accountability of some leaders.

Azem Vlasi sharply opposed attempts, as he put it, to describe the situation in Kosovo as unbearable and always to seek reasons for this among the Albanians. After the counterrevolution of 1981, he stressed, a broad action was initiated to correct the disturbed intranational relations in the province. Significant results were achieved, but continued activity from positions of Albanian nationalism and separatism, in particular the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins, contributed to phenomena and events emerging into the public sphere which made the situation more serious.

By many public statements, Vlasi continued, intranational distrust was nourished; and many books, leaflets, and articles were written which superficially related to real facts, but which in fact systematically represented Albanians and everything which comprises their national identity in a negative light. In the past years, nothing connected with Albanians was left without the addition of negative and dark nuances. In this way, Vlasi said, the idea that they were a nation pathologically and genetically inclined to evil, hatred, and everything that is against the interests of civilisation was gradually but deliberately created about them. I have the impression, he continued, that this was a systematic attempt to erase the boundaries between Albanian nationalists and the Albanian nationality as a whole.

In Vlasi's opinion, official assessments by the highest organs of the LCY about the situation in Kosovo added new, different details which aimed at presenting the situation in the worst possible light. For example, stands on the causes of the emigration of Serbs and Montegrins are clear, but in the public domain, the total number of those who have emigrated is persistently treated as the number of those who have emigrated under duress. [passage omitted]

Sonja Scepanovic [not further identified] illustrated Kosovo's numerous contradictions and confusions which have recently surfaced with a number of examples. There is the matter of support to both the LCY Central Committee and the LC provincial committee despite the unprecedented disciplinary measures meted out by the top party organ against the provincial committee. There is also the resistance to the cadre changes, and demands are made not to carry out the LCY policy on accountability and the constitutional changes—all accompanied by socialist, Yugoslav, and party slogans and Tito's portraits.

Sonja Scepanovic asked: Why demand the status quo; why support the present status of Kosovo; why recognize somebody's intentions despite the absence of any results? Those who, after being warned by the LCY Central Committee, tried to convince the Albanian people that the cadre changes were not the way to solve the problems faster do not wish the Albanian people well, Sonja Scepanovic said. [passage omitted]

Husamedin Azemi warned that the Kosovo LC was in a very difficult situation at the time when desperately needed results were expected in stabilizing the situation in the province.

Following the 17th Session of the LCY Central Committee, the state of helplessness and of the lack of prospects, of expectation and of tension was pushed aside in light of our belief that the conclusions reached at the session would eliminate differing views of, and approaches to, our reality and that the issue of responsibility of the LC, its organs, and its individual members would be given top priority as an imperative for pulling out of the present situation. However, the further we went in implementing the conclusions, the more the situation developed in the opposite direction. We found ourselves in a completely new political situation, with all the characteristics of a general crisis which must be eliminated promptly. We were faced with mass gatherings by those of Albanian nationality in Pristina, and the task of pacifying the situation but without much political scope for maneuver, Azemi added. The most important task was to persuade people to go back to their jobs, schools, and environments. However, we did not found ourselves in such a situation unexpectedly.

During the preparations for the session, there was fear that decisions might be made under pressure; that there would be irregularities in deciding on the degree of individual responsibility; that there would be unfounded attacks on individuals; that an atmosphere of dictation and conditions would prevail. The overall situation was exacerbated by inadequate activity in acquainting people with the nature of constitutional changes which gave rise

to the fear of cadre changes and the fear for the destiny of the Albanian people, for autonomy, language, culture, and history of the Albanians. [passage omitted]

During the preparations for the session, we failed to show the necessary degree of sensitivity toward the effects of the mass gatherings. Tactical moves were made, individual steps taken, an impression and atmosphere of conflict and of pressure to "victimize" a section of the leadership of a nationality created. There was no respect or understanding for the fundamental principles of the party's procedure over the issue of responsibility. An atmosphere of resistance first by individuals, and then by organs was created; criticism by name and labeling from the positions of narrow interests and personal ambitions were embarked upon. In this context, my name was also mentioned. My warnings have been misinterpreted, Azemi said, distorted, described as assessments and used for an excuse to attack, discredit and humiliate not just me, but also a section of the Pristina LC Municipal Committee and its presidium. This seems to be an organized campaign designed to denigrate the work and political orientation of the entire LC organization in Pristina. These attacks are used by individuals as a means to maintain control over the situation; to identify themselves with the people. It is not hard to recognize those behind them. They find it difficult to accept that they are about to lose their present positions, privileges, and status and are using all means available: the working class, the nation, and the nationality.

I therefore reject all unfounded attacks directed at me and the Pristina LC Municipal Committee, and I see them as an additional burden on our overall situation, and as a expression of resistance to the efforts of the LCY and of the Kosovo LC to stabilize the situation, Azemi said in conclusion. To remain loyal to himself, as he put it, he asked the provincial committee to assume a clearly defined stand on these attacks and called on the working group formed to reexamine the responsibility of the members of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee to assess his responsibility. This proposal was accepted. [passage omitted] Savo Komadinic [not further identified] first warned that the latest events in Kosovo must be the last warning to all sociopolitical workers. He repeated the demand by miners from Stari Trg that assessments which state that nationalism, permeate the working class to the largest extent be condemned. The working class of Kosovo is neither nationalist nor separatist, and we must energetically reject such an assessment, Komadinic stressed.

However, Komadinic added, while the presence of the workers in Pristina on the 1st and 2d day was an expression of disgust and dissatisfaction with the debate and outcome of the LC provincial committee session, this cannot be said for events of the 3d day and later. At that time, according to Komadinic, unacceptable slogans and demands were put forth, and among the participants were Albanian nationalists and separatists and even participants of the 1981 demonstrations who tried to impose themselves as organizers and redirect these events. [passage omitted]

It would be tantamount to irresponsibility to continue to repeat again and again the same old views of the situation in the province, Kacusa Jasari [not further identified] stressed without explaining why we have not been more resolute in taking measures to change it. If the LC's future political action is to be successful, it is very important to ensure that both the consequences are removed, and the causes behind deteriorating intranational realtions, especially the causes which have led to mass gatherings and dissatisfaction among the ethnic Albanian population, are examined promptly and responsibly.

Any attempt to express dissatisfaction and disgust outside the institutions of the system reflects, according to Kacusa Jasari, a deep crisis in society. However, dissatisfaction among an ethnic group expressed through gatherings on a national basis must be taken by the LC as a topic worthy of serious analysis. The practice of expressing dissatisfaction through gatherings and protests can have serious consequences in Kosovo.

Our ideas about the dissatisfaction of the Serbian and Montenegrin nationalities are clear. I would like to add that there has not been enough awareness, especially among ethinic Albanians, of the need to express solidarity.

Noting that as far back as the 12th Serbian LC session, she had drawn attention to the damaging nature of national homogenization, Kacusa Jasari added that at that occasion she had said that she would not like to have, as a leader, the support of one nationality alone. The support given today to a number of individuals including me, she said, should not therefore be based on the existing relationship or acquired reputation, but on much deeper reasons which call for a more thorough analysis. It is not appropriate to our self-managing socialist society to give the impression that much depends on the will of individuals and that people are indispensable. This can lead to the rise of ethnic leaders who lead because of their personality.

However, various anticommunist tendencies exist in society which are longing to disqualify cadres, and the LC is not sufficiently opposing this which creates not only confusion in a wider public, but also revolt, Kacusa Jasari noted, and added that intranational trust in Kosovo cannot be achieved by appeals. It is created above all by persistent struggle by the Kosovo LC against Albanian nationalism and separatism, by constant exposure of its ideology, and by sincerely advocating peaceful and secure lives for members of all nationalities, and above all for Serbs and Montenegrins.

On the other hand, more unity and more resolute struggle against a negative approach by the entire LCY toward everything about Kosovo and from Kosovo is necessary in the activity of the Serbian LC and the LCY toward Kosovo. Politicization of the working people and citizens on a national basis was especially influenced by differences between leaders in assessing the situation, ideopolitical differentation, responsibility, and methods of activity.

Only through joint and united action by the whole LC, Kacusa Jasari said, can dissatisfaction be eliminated and ill feelings prevented. Gatherings by single ethnic goups inevitably lead to these. We have to find the strength in Kosovo to remove the basic causes of gatherings by single ethnic groups. In the Kosovo LC, delay and hesitation are present in ideopolitical differentiation, and even in the question of responsiblility, as well as in the overall involvement in the stabilization of the situation. However, there has not been resolute struggle by the entire LCY—and within it the Kosovo LC—against various tendencies—Albanian and other—of nationalism and communism which cause numerous people to feel disgusted and dissatisfied and even fear for the future of this country.

The people's disgust and dissatisfaction have always been accompanied by an expression of adherence to LCY policy, Kacusa Jasari stressed. It was the same with the latest gatherings and protests by ethnic Albanians. This should not be overshadowed by occasional unacceptable behaviour. Insistence on what is unacceptable can only be interpreted as a tendency to perpetuate intranational confrontations.

The most important task facing the Kosovo LC is how to translate this adherence to the symbols and policy of the LCY and the LCY Central Committee into an active attitude to implement the stated party policy. The awareness of the need to tackle the problems only within the institutions of the system must be heightened among, above all, the communists. in our future activity, it is vital to explain those issues which prevailed during the recent events and especially those regarding the constitutional changes. It is true that we could have organized ourselves much better in conducting the debate on the amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Serbia. There are however, other facts which should be mentioned, Jasari said and went on to note that even before the debate on the amendments started the issue of constitutional change had become politicized. In the course of the debate, various events happened and demands made to which there was no response. After the debate it was often said, even at official meetings, that the amendments will only make a minimal difference.

It is true that there is a lot of disinformation, Kacusa Jasari said, emanating particularly from the nationalists, both Albanian and Serbian. However not everything is explained by the lack of information. People read papers, and it is therefore important who says what and where. The LC has not reacted to this, and thus there has been room for nationalists to take advantage.

Except in the case of some nationalists, I have understood the insistences on the 1974 Constitution not to be against change, but as a way of saying that the fundamental principles enshrined in that constitution should not be changed, Kacusa Jasari said.

While the greatest responsibility lies with ethnic Albanian communists, everyone is responsible for ensuring good intranational relations. Even some responsible cadres see their role as that of criticizing and of pointing to mistakes in present policy. They do not seem to be aware of what their real duties are. All communists must be held responsible for the situation in their environment regardless of their ethnicity and especially for the struggle against nationalism within their own ethnic group. We must fight jointly, regardless of ethnicity, for the consistent implementation of LCY policy, for society without privilege and different criteria in ideopolitical differentation and the implementation of party tasks as a whole.

As for the demand to establish responsibility for the situation in Kosovo: At its last session the provincial committee formed a working group tasked with looking into the issue. In the meantime, I ask you not to generalize, Kacusa Jasari said ending her contribution.

Pero Kostic said that finding out whether the demonstrations and the protest had been spontaneous or organized was not only a question of the political assessment, but also one that concerns the security organs. He noted that everything that has happened was very elaborate in terms of the participants, intentions, and the background of the demonstrations. The attitudes by the individuals from outside the province should not be ignored since their quasi-constructive Marxist meditations have often served as a conscious support for nationalism and separatism.

It would not be fair, he added, to underestimate the justifiable revolt provoked by tendentious treatment of the probems and inflamed passions. It would also be unfair to attribute such dishonest and isolated actions to the Socialist Republic of Serbia and to its leadership, Kostic maintains.

The way the public has been informed, or shall I say misinformed, about the changes to the Serbian Consttution, is the question which calls for a special consideration. It must be ascertained who is to blame for such vast diferences between those who want the 1974 Constitution to remain unchanged as the holy relic and the stands on the same adopted by the 13th Congress of the LCY and the 17th Session of the LCY Central Committee. In this light and in this respect, and taken out of the

context the chanting of "Tito party" had an ironic ring to it. Tito, Kostic said, has never been dogmatic and the party insisted on having the changes to the constitution.

Kostic believes that one must not underestimate the fact that Tito's portraits were paraded as the sign of the love for his work, particularly when they were in the hands of the workers. Displaying these portraits and the Yugoslav flag, especially the republican flag—something he described as being unrecorded in private circumstances—has, however, turned after the 1st and 2d day into the way of defending the demonstrations, which were banned.

He believes the recent events in Pristina were immaculately synchronized. Tolerance was probably necessary and inevitable, particularly at first, but the passive attitude by those of us in power cannot be described as based on a sense for order. Bearing in mind the attitude toward the Serbs and the Montenegrins, Kostic maintains that if the peace is to be maintained, appropriate measures will need to be deployed in time and not as one-time measures, to finish the task. [passage omitted]

Unless it is established that the organizers of these rallies and demonstrations were Albanian nationalists or legal political structures, then the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee and its presidium must assume the responsibility, stressed Moracic. Moracic was explicit in his claim that the LC provincial committee and its presidium were the cause of these events. In this context, he recalled the vacillation and hestiation in implementing the country's top party forum's clear stands concerning establishing responsibility for the Kosovo situation.

Moracic asked that the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee accepted his earlier resignation from membership, finally warning that alternatively he will leave this party forum without the necessary authority.

Merita Musa asked the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee to review the decisions made at its previous plenun, especially those relieving Azem Vlasi, Kacusa Jasari, and Vojislav Zajic of their previous functions.

Ajsa Malj believes that the assessment on the recent gatherings cannot be realistic unless it is based on the views of rank and file members.

Ekrem Arifi by and large repeated Azem Vlasi's views. He also claimed that the cause of recent gatherings was the accumulated dissatisfaction and revolt due, as he put it, to attacks on the national identity of Albanians. The Yugoslav leadership has made a clear assessment that the situation in Kosovo is becoming increasingly serious, and that the greatest responsibility for this must be borne by the provincial committee and its presidium, said Dusan Ilic. With its stands, the LCY opted for a radical change and not just boosting incipient actions and called for specific responsibility to be established. The events which followed, Ilic went on to say, show in which way the provincial leadership prepared for this radical change. Sitting on the fence gained the upper hand, and the only moves made were those forced by the Serbia LC and the LCY.

Ilic reiterated the basic LC stands on Kosovo, insisting that further polarization on a national basis is threatening. This warning, he said, showed itself to be completely justified. There is also the question about the extent to which the Presidium of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee had contributed to the increasing complexity of the whole situation by delaying the adoption of the assessments on mass rallies throughout the province. Speaking about the manipulation of the mases, he drew attention to the fact that this could be done by planting untruths or by keeping silent about the matters which need to be publicly explained. [passage omitted]

The five day mass demonstrations in the streets of Kosovo towns, Ilic believes, were a unique pressure of the Serbs and Montenegrins in this province. Homogenization of the Albanian nationality in Kosovo occurred in them, and this happened before the eyes of the provincial leadership, which ought to have started an action to carry out differentiations more rapidly.

Entering into a polemic with Ilic's views, Remzi Koljgeci refuted the conclusion about the assessments of the provincial committee presidium not being adopted in time. The assessments were not adopted earlier, because this was decided at the session held in Pristina on 20 November, Koljgeci stressed. Rebutting the assessment that Albanians are against constitutional changes, Saban Krasnici Stressed that the rallies of the working people and citizens of Kosovo must be measured with the same criteria used to measure similar meetings in other parts of the country.

Bedin Osmani refuted the claim that Stari Trg miners set off for Pristina after a telephone conversation between Kacusa Jasari and the mine management. Kacusa Jasari, he stressed, asked that they be prevented from setting off for the provincial capital, which could not be done.

Dusan Celic resisted the one-sided interpretation of the several days of protests by the Albanians in Kosovo as being the result of social tension, saying that the slogans which had been shouted indicated entirely different motives. Nor is it acceptable to describe them exclusively as a reflection of the creation of an anti-Albanian mood in Kosovo and in Serbia, said Celic. Such a one-sided interpretation is not suitable even for a political illiterate, let alone a professional man of Azem Vlasi's calibre, unless, of course, the intention is deliberate.

Celic set out a number of specific observations to the text of the preliminary stands and assessments which the committee has to adopt. It has to be stressed, he believes, that the situation in the province is the result mainly of the shortcomings in the work of the Kosovo LC. The

rallies in Kosovo cannot be equated with those in other parts of the country. The fact that the Serbia LC Central Committee was ignored during the 5 days of protest, in Celic's assessment, shows that during these demonstrations, Kosovo was seen in Yugoslavia as being somewhere outside Serbia. [passage omitted]

Celic noted with regret that no one from the country's top party leadership is at the session today, which goes to show that its attitude toward the problems in Kosovo is not at the required level. The top party leadership, he remarked with a tone of resignation, is silent, sending superanuated politicians to look at the situation in the province. The weekend visits to Kosovo must be brought to an end as soon as possible, and the solution to the problem entertained more seriously.

Minir Dusi demanded that all the rallies and meetings this year be assessed under the same criteria, including the recent rallies by Albanians, which were spontaneous and without any excesses, he said.

According to Minir Dusi, the reasons for mass rallies have to be sought in the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee decisions on cadre changes, dissatisfaction with constitutional changes, and statements not unlike the one which Budimir Loncar, federal secretary of foreign affairs, recently made to the French paper LE MONDE. This was contributed to, says Dusi, by a veritable campaign against proven cadres from Kosovo emanating from the Kosovo Polje stronghold demanding that the so-called "honest Albanians" appear on the political scene. The whole of Yugoslavia and Kosovo have approved the changes in the normative part of the Constitution and the workers, not knowing what the "normative parts of the Constitution" are, gave vent to their dissatisfaction.

Speaking of the slogans, Dusi said that they were mostly for Tito and Yugoslavia and the slogan "Kosovo-republic" was called out only on three occasions. There was also the slogan "We do not want the Republic and Slobodan Milosevic" but the slogan was unsupported. All this testifies to the fact that these meetings were neither anti Serb nor anti-Yugoslav, but represented support to Tito and Yugoslavia, Dusi said.

Having asked what rank and file members wanted after the last session of the LC provincial committee and drawing a parallel with Dusan Ckrebic's case at the 17th Session of LCY Central Committee Session, Ejup Gasi said that you cannot consult rank and file members in one case, and ignore them in another. Gasi particularly criticized the information media, especially those "from Belgrade", and 'JEDINSHTVO' and Pristina Radio and TV broadcast in Serbo- Croat, which tried to change the course of the rallies with their reports.

Gasi dissociated himself from the assessments of the two Serb Presidia [Serb State Presidency and party presidium] on these events, and from the public information media, which called them demonstrations. He also asked the LC provincial committee to take measures against Husamedin Azemi and "those of his ilk" because of their recent statements that the workers and the miners have been manipulated. This was a career-seeking statement, said Gasi. He proposed that "the slanders against Dusan Dragosavac, Joze Smole, and Josipd Dvrhovec emanating from Kosovo Polje" be rejected, and that the expressions "terror", "genocide" and similar ones, which had been introduced by the press, according to him, should be thrown out of usage.

Arif Sabani said that the LC provincial committee only represented an executor of the tasks coming "from above".

Azem Azemi believes that with assistance of the information media, the Serb leadership has for quite some time now been mounting an attack on the Kosovo leadership, which the LC provincial committee had not decisively resisted. All this, in his view, has introduced nervousness among the Albanians which were look for a scope to express their displeasure and to provide support for Tito's line.

Arif Sabani also drew attention to the fact that, as he put it, unprecedented pressure was brought to bear on Kosovo by the Serb leadership with the assistance of the information media.

Miodrag Vukomanovic passed on the assessment of the Zubin Potok LC Municipal Committee Presidium that the recent events represent the continuation of the 1981 counterrevolution, and that they are nationalist, anti-Serb, and anti-Yugoslav demonstrations.

Reacting to the frequent LC provincial committee platform demands for Husamedin Azemi, president of the Pristina LC Municipal Committee Presidium, to be called to account, Remzi Koljgeci suggested that this should not be done again, because the Pristina LC Municipal Committee and this committee will assess his work. [passage omitted]

According to Fazli Mazreku, the mass gatherings in Kosovo represent a new socialist practiced. I do not wish to make comparisons, but during solidarity meetings with Serbs and Montenegrins, destructive slogans and fratricidal appeals were heard as well, yet no one reacted to that. It is unacceptable, Mazreku believes, that the responsibility for the situation in Kosovo should be restricted only to the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee.

The fact that unacceptable slogans were also heard during the rallies, said Dzafer Berisa, cannot alter the positive character of these events. Differing assessments about these events are one-sided, untenable, and damaging. Now the dilemma about where national meetings are leading us has been removed, he believes.

The assessment by the two Serb Presidia are unacceptable, Sinan Bitici believes. During the meetings of the Serbs and Montenegrins, he said, gross slanders were thrown at Azem Vlasi, the kind of insults which were never uttered about a leader, and yet in this specific case, we are talking about a proven fighter against all forms of nationalism, especially Albanian.

According to Bitici, the Serbia LC Central Committee did not help the provincial committee, "but in a way hampered the solution of the problems in Kosovo."

We have again spent a great deal of time describing the situation, said Ljubomir Popovic, but one assessment is not in dispute—intranational relations are at a critical point, and the Serbs and Montenegrins' fear of tomorrow is bigger than ever before.

As far as rallies and demonstrations are concerned, Popovic made a clear distinction between the events the first 2 days, when mainly the miners and the workers were in the streets, and what happened afterwards. What were the short-term and what were the long-term objectives of these events? asked Popovic. It would seem that the first thing was to get the decisions of the previous provincial committee session annulled, but the essence was to resist the conclusions of the 17th Session of LCY Central Committee. The covert resistance to the LCY policy surfaced then on the public scene, while the ignoring of Serbia in essence amounts to working on behalf of the province outside the republic. [passage omitted]

A conversation between "the deaf" is being conducted at this session, and I do not wish to take part in it, stressed Sveto Zivkovic. What is happening here should be discussed by the central committees of the LCY and of the Serbia LC, and new, adequate assessments must be made regarding this matter. New theses are being heard here, pointed out Zivkovic, which encourage new divisions and an anti-Serb and anti-Yugoslav mood. In this context, I am thinking mainly of Azem Vlasi's remarks, in which he dragged the whole Albanian nationality into all these problems.

Accepting the assessments made in the introductory report, Bajram Seljani remarked that it would suit Albanian chauvinists best if Albanian meetings were to be described as nationalist gatherings. He also pointed out the danger of national divisions visible even in the provincial committee presidium. That is why the incipient political activity must be continued in order to attain a greater degree of unity.

Similar assessments were also made by Daut Jasanica, who repeated the often pronounced assessment about the creation of an anti-Albanian mood. Refusing to accept the assessments that the Albanians are against the constitutional changes in the SR of Serbia, he mentioned that most people who had taken part in extensive public discussions in the province declared themselves in favor of new solutions and endorsed the stand that Serbia should be constituted as a state in more precise terms.

As far as Dobrosav Radovic is concerned, the session today shows that there is less and less unity within the leadership. Judging what has been heard, the Albanians in Kosovo seem to be threatened more than anybody else, said Radovic. There remains the impression that there would be no problems at all but for the press, attacks from Belgrade, and protests by the Serbs and Montenegrins.

Bedri Feka explained the workers' dissatisfaction and their appearance in the streets was due to their low earnings. On behalf of the working class, he appealed to the highest party leaderships in Kosovo, Serbia, and Yugoslavia to attain genuine unity so that the crisis can be overcome.

For Petar Jaksic, the procrastinations with the sessions of Kosovo LC Provincial Committee and also with the session of the top party leadership are inexcusable. Jaksic wondered to what extent the lack of unity in the LCY Central Committee and the statements by individual politicians from Slovenia and Croatia encouraged the Albanian nationalists to take part in all these rallies.

According to Sadik Sadiku, the leading people in Serbia do not support the progressive forces in Kosovo; therefore, the situation is not likely to be stabilized soon. Aluding to Husamedin Azemi, Sadiku said that Azemi should decide "which branch he is perching on", if some party organizations are attacking him, whereas individual Serbs are defending him.

Dusan Celic did not agree with the kind of remark Sadiku made, saying that references made by a member of the LC of Serbia Central Committee are not consistent with communist ideology and that such statements cannot do him honor.

Remzi Koljgeci also reacted to Sadik Sadiku's statements, drawing attention to one's responsibility for every public utterance.

However, taking the floor again, Sadiku reiterated his previous observation. [passage omitted]

Miladin Denic opposed the comparison between the recent rallies with the organized Trepca miners 1941 action and the demands to review the decisions made during the last session of the LC provincial committee.

Denic was the last speaker who had put down his name to take part in the discussion, but Dusan Celic asked to be given the floor again. He proposed that the report should not be adopted, and that a single assessment on past events be drafted together with the LCY Central Committee Presidium and the LC of Serbia Central Committee Presidium.

Supporting this proposal, Ali Sukrija again drew attention to the fact that the national division manifested at this session also represents a heavy blow against the party organization in Kosovo. He also proposed that a working group should be set up to compile a report on the undesirable course of the public discussion on the draft amendments to the Constitution of the SR of Serbia.

During the further course of the discussion on whether or not to approve the report, Remzi Koljgeci disagreed with the remarks that unity had not been achieved on its content, and he proposed again that this document be adopted.

If it is thought that this session has not been prepared in the way agreed on 20 November together with the representatives of the LCY Central Comittee and of the LC of Serbia Central Committee, I am prepared to bear the political responsibility for that, said Koljgeci.

Koljgeci also asked the LC provincial committee to express its views on the demands heard during the session about reviewing the decisions made during the previous provincial committee plenum concerning Azem Vlasi, Kacusa Jasari, and Vojislav Zajic.

Uros Seslija warned that this session should not adopt subjective and enforced assessments and proposed that the Presidia of the LCY Central Committee, of the LC of Serbia Central Committee, and of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee should adopt single assessments on these events.

Avid Bakali resisted the idea that after a discussion in which 55 provincial committee members had taken part, this plenum should end without adopting any conclusions.

I do not know whether Seslija's view should be accepted, but as far as Ali Sukrija is concerned, I think he has lost sight of the fact that 37 provincial committee members here have approved the proposed report, he said, noting that they had not described these rallies as demonstrations.

I do not see the reason for these disputes over the first report and preliminary assessments, said Kacusa Jasari. This report, which is rather a chronology of the events, must be amplified on the basis of the suggestions made during the debate today, so that afterwards, together with the LCY Central Committee and the LC of Serbia Central Committee, a comprehensive analysis can be made of the recent events in Kosovo.

Bajram Seljani also agreed with the proposal that during this session the provincial committee should express its views on the proposed report. Dusko Celic again asked to be given the floor, pointing out that extensive polarization on the national basis had taken place during this special plenum of Kosovo communists. In connection with this report, we can now vote for an ostensible unity, but a shadow will be cast on it. In so doing we will possibly satisfy our conscience, but we will not placate Kosovo, was the warning served by Celic.

Petar Jaksic said that the vote on the report could be interpreted as the result of the Albanian built-in majority carrying the vote.

Ekrem Arifi did not agree with this remark. He believes that the differences manifested at this plenum are only those of nuance. How long will two or three men (?constitute) an obstacle to us coming to an agreement on some issues, wondered Arifi.

The Kosovo LC Provincial Committee subsequently voted to adopt the proposed report on the recent protest rallies in the province which contains a preliminary assessment of these events. Only three provincial committee members declared themselves against the report.

With regard to certain doubts expressed during the discussion on the decisions made during the previous provincial committee session concerning Azem Vlasi, Kacusa Jasari, and Vojislav Zajic—an explanation was given by Redzep Hadzimusa, chairman of the Statute Commission of the Kosovo LC, who said that there is no need to interpret the party statute over this matter.

Concerning the decision made during the previous plenum to relieve Kacusa Jasari of her office of president of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium and Vojislav Zajic of the Office of the Secretary—Hadzimusa said, any possible reexamination of these decisions is within the provincial committee presidium's jurisdiction. Regarding the decision to relieve Azem Vlasi of his duties as member of the provincial committee presidium—that decision is in the spirit of the conclusions of the 17th Session LCY Central Committee. The people who today brought up these questions, to quote Hadzimusa, are contradicting themselves, because they voted for precisely these decisions during the previous session of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee.

Remzi Koljgeci then remarked that there was no need to discuss the decisions made during the previous plenum of Kosovo communists.

At the very end of the plenum, Azem Vlasi suggested that the assessments made about him during two earlier provincial committee sessions should again be made public, because during the special plenary meeting, he believes, they have been "somewhat more restrictive".

Koljgeci concluded that this proposal could be accepted.

The special plenum of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee lasted almost 16 hours. The marathon session ended at 0330.

In the assessment of not an insignificant number of participants in the debate, this session passed off against a background of the biggest division so far among the members of the highest party forum in Kosovo on the national basis.

Mikulic Sends Message to PRC's Li Peng

LD0812112088 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0938 GMT 8 Dec 88

[Text] Beijing, December 8 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Premier Branko Mukulic sent Chinese Premier Li Peng a message on further promoting the two countries' overall bilateral cooperation, especially economic.

The message was delivered to China's Vice-Premier Tian Jiyun by Yugoslavia's Beijing Ambassador Zvone Dragan. Dragan informed Tian Jiyun about the latest trends in the two countries' economic cooperation and preparations for a session of the Mixed Committee for Economic and Scientific-Technological Cooperation early next year in Beijing.

Tian Jiyun said the two countries' relations were traditionally friendly and expressed China's wish to contributing to further promoting them and to their stable and continual development.

Yugoslav-Chinese trade stood at a record high of 270 million dollars last year.

The trade stood at about 160 million dollars in the first ten months of this year, and both sides assessed that this is below their needs and possibilities.

Neither country is satisfied with this year's trade and expressed determination to invest concrete efforts and change the situation.

Dizdarevic Greets Alia on Albanian National Day

AU0612145688 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 30 Nov 88 p 4

[Telegram from Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency to Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania]

[Text] In the name of the SFRY Presidency, I convey our greetings and wishes for the well-being of the people of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania on the occasion of their national day.

On this occasion, I wish to stress that the SFRY, adhering faithfully to the principle of good neighborliness, attaches importance to the development of reciprocal and beneficial cooperation between our two countries.